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ABSTRACT

The development of training and certification of part-time adult and further education (FE) teachers in England was traced from the middle of the 19th century to the present through a retrospective study that focused primarily on the evolution of the City and Guilds of London Institute's (CGLI) part-time teacher training program that was initiated in 1954-55 and awarded nearly 8,000 part-time teacher certificates in 1990. The study, which was based on information gathered from an extensive set of books, periodical articles, official government reports, institutional documents, and theses and dissertations, focused primarily on the CGLI's transformation from its establishment to the present. Special attention was paid to the following topics: the ad hoc and "voluntary" nature of the various training programs for part-time teachers; the gradually increasing involvement of examining bodies in the development of part-time teachers; attempts to impose coherence on the disparate arrangements for training part-time adult and technical teachers; and recent trends, including market-oriented reorganization, closer integration of FE with other levels of education, and the National Vocational Qualifications initiative. (The bibliography lists 97 references. Appended are five tables of data from various CGLI annual reports.) (MN)

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he Education of Part-Time Teachers in Further and Adult Education

A retrospective study

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Leeds Studies in Continuing Education

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A retrospective study

Frank Foden

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Foreword

by John A. Barnes
Director General, City and Guilds of London Institute

The history of the provision of curricula, standards, and facilities for the part-time education and training of part-time teachers to practise in colleges of further education and other similar establishments for students beyond the school-leaving age is a hitherto neglected and frequently misunderstood part of the development of the British educational system.

Great credit is therefore due to Dr Frank Foden for presenting such a balanced and succinct account of this little-known process. Based on meticulous research complemented by personal experience, the account now given will interest all who are concerned with the history and sociology of education in Britain, and the planning and provision of educational policies and facilities.

As described by Dr Foden, the process of part-time teacher education has been one of pressure from those directly involved and perceiving their own need for formalized instruction and documentary evidence of attainment, rather than of any coherent national strategy. The approbation of government for the initiative described has been by intention more than by practical action and support, and it has been left to voluntary and local agencies to give effect to measures to meet the perceived needs.

In this situation it is a matter of pride that the efforts of the City and Guilds of London Institute to provide a framework of curricula and qualifications for part-time teacher education and training runs like a consistent thread through the developments here recounted. It is a great pleasure to me, as one who has been involved in local authority and voluntary educational activities throughout my working life and therefore has had experience of what Dr Foden describes, to contribute this Foreword to his work. Dr Foden has also contributed a lifetime of dedicated service to education in the particular field of further education, and by participation in the committees and assessments for the City and Guilds

Further Education Teachers' Certificates, so that he is uniquely well fitted to add his present work to the record which already includes his as yet unpublished thesis of the the 'History of Technical Examinations in England to 1918' (University of Reading, 1961); his book on *Philip Magnus: Victorian education pioneer* (London, 1970); and his book *The Examiner: James Booth and the origin of common examinations* (Leeds, 1989). In conjunction with the University of Leeds, Frank Foden has now produced an important and valuable addition to our knowledge of part-time teachers, a group of practical-minded people who have got on with the job of preparing themselves to pass on their own technical and and occupational expertise to succeeding generations of industry- and commerce-based students in further education and in the wider instructional fields of the public services, HM Forces, and private business. It is good to know that after too many years of academic élitism and downright snobbery, their contributions and that of vocational education generally are at last coming to be recognized for what they are — essential bases for the wealth-generating activities on which the community depends.

I am pleased to pay tribute to Frank Foden's work, and to commend this book to all who have the interests of a fairer and more prosperous society at heart.

Author's Preface

The theme of this book, the introduction and development of schemes of training for part-time teachers in further and adult education in England, will not seem a familiar one to many students of English education. Some, unacquainted as they may be with the ethos of further and adult education as a whole,may be disposed to regard it as a not very interesting or important theme at all. There used indeed to be a common view among teachers and administrators working in these fields that 'mainstream' educators cared little about what happened to people who had left school, other than those who went on to university or 'college'. As for the teachers who did slip into the further and adult education backwaters, there was little concern about their training for the work; they hardly needed it. In so far as training for further education ever got discussed, it was a side issue with a very low priority.

Things have changed, and the further sector has become 'big business'. Under the terms of the recently published Bill for Further and Higher Education — doubtless to be an Act before this book appears — further education colleges are to become centrally funded, independent units in the national system, a measure that may or may not do much for further education as such, but which will certainly raise its profile in the public eye. Since the emphasis will increasingly be on effectiveness, the training of teachers in the service will itself be a matter for more earnest attention that at some stages in the past.

Although the provisions of the bill are radical, and their effect on training provision likely to be considerable, it is also very probable that future development of training will constitute no break with development so far, rather modification and acceleration of the processes that have been in motion for some years. It is on some such assumption that the entire argument of this study has been fashioned, for the author maintains a view that development in the field has, from its modest, slow beginnings, been a continuous, sometimes grinding, grudging, gradually accelerating movement, conditioned and shaped by new perceptions, circumstances and pressures, but at no stage subject to violent new departures.

There are those impatient of 'history', content to see the shape of things in terms simply of their present aspect. The author believes that knowing how the peculiarities of the existing system arose, as elsewhere in English education, goes some way to explaining how they work and how to get the best out of them. However worthy the anxiety to 'get on with the job', uninformed and uncritical acceptance of established but ill-understood routines quite often leads to confusion and frustration.

The institutional transmogrification of 'CGLI 730', a main topic of this book, is a case in point, and the book is deliberately subtitled a 'Retrospective Study'. Some patient understanding of the strange initiatives and constraining factors that have given rise to present arrangements may help practitioners to make better use of challenging future opportunities. It is with such a thought in mind that a final short chapter, 'Into the Future', offers a run-down on very recent trends in the affairs of further and adult teacher training, drawing attention to the quite rapid development that has occurred in the two years since the book was first written. By luck — or good judgement and effective representation — many of the elements of control of the system have now been won by the teachers themselves, or have been thrust into their hands. If things 'go wrong' in the future it may well be because members of the further and adult teaching profession have not realized just how much power and influence they have gained, or because they do not value it. Their training, as it has developed, has been significant as a uniquely practical example of the practitioner-centred 'third cycle' programme advocated by the James Report in 1972.

Although part-time teachers have not figured much in primary and secondary education, the situation is utterly different in further and adult education. Until some time after the Second World War, the further education service, as the title of the opening chapter implies, was run predominantly as a part-time affair, mostly in the evenings and relying for most of its teaching on part-timers, a motley collection of teachers and instructors recruited from industry, commerce or public administration, rather than from among regular riders on the educational roundabout. Schoolteachers were employed in considerable numbers to teach 'night classes', mainly at the lower levels of work in the 'academic' subjects, and these of course had usually had training of some sort. There was a small corps of full-time teachers (now rapidly increasing in numbers), but these were mostly graduates of universities or members of professional institutions and were almost wholly concerned with higher-level and full-time students.

The book seeks to identify and explain the ad hoc and 'voluntary' nature of the various schemes of training for the part-time teachers which evolved. Special attention is given early in the book to the schemes for training of one specialized group which largely consisted of full-time teachers in elementary schools offering 'vocational subjects', for which little provision was made in the training colleges. From sketchy beginnings, mainly arising from the initiatives of non-statutory bodies, especially the City and Guilds of London Institute, a whole movement developed, shot through increasingly with interventions from the government education department of the day. It was these schemes that afforded the Institute its first experience of teacher training.

Attention is then directed briefly to the first efforts to train full-time teachers for further education from 1946, and to how ideas and values generated in the part-time realm influenced this development. The story is carried through to the late 1980s—and beyond — when some weary rivers found their way safely to the sea of 'coherence', in which the interests and objectives of many disparate bodies were beginning to mingle. The progress towards 'coherence' has come at a time when the numbers and relative influence of the part-time teachers have been greatly increasing; nevertheless it is important to note that the absolute numbers of part-time teachers in the system remain as high as ever.

Aspects of the unevenness of these flows, the lack of direction of many streams of endeavour, the obstructions and discouragements encountered during sluggish progress, are dealt with to varying degrees. Prime among the discouragement to a coherent system of training has been the failure of legislators, government and educationists alike, to evolve a convincing philosophy of vocational education and break out of a classically oriented 'non-vocational' culture. Ironically the cultural establishment failed equally to produce a coherent programme of 'non-vocational' adult education, and it certainly failed to bring the vocational and the non-vocational into phase with one another.

The fundamental idea that further education, and especially its vocational elements, has a connection with the nation's productive, commercial and environmental condition gained an uneasy place in political minds only late in the day. Reinforcing the reluctance of governments to commit themselves to constructive programmes of post-school education has been the refusal of Treasury mandarins, instructed by their political masters, to allow decent expenditure. Much of the development that has occurred in further and adult education had been episodic, voluntary and hand-to-mouth. All that has been markedly reflected in process and policy in the training of teachers for further and adult education. Some people are now beginning to argue that defects of outlook are being remedied, particularly through the introduction of market considerations and new approaches to funding and accountability. Much of this 'functional' and 'realistic' approach seems to have more to do with financial management and control of public expenditure than with the economic benefit to the nation. The Treasury mandarins are as much in control as ever; they have merely shifted their ground a little.

Nevertheless, the speed of change in the system as a whole is now so furious that it has been impossible in the compass of this work to keep up with what is happening. The final chapter makes some attempt to highlight the trends which bear particularly on training structures, for instance, market-oriented reorganization, closer integration of further with other phases of education, staff development and appraisal, competence-based assessment, accreditation of prior learning, and the National Vocational Qualifications initiative.

It remains, perhaps, to be mentioned that the perspective of the book is essentially that of its author, Frank Foden, writing from direct "internal" experience of many of the issues discussed, and from personal contact with originators of significant initiatives and with commentators on the further education scene, its teacher training in particular. This acquaintance has been gained principally though not exclusively in the development of 'CGLI 730' (now CGLI 7307), the premier part-time teacher training programme identified in the book. The programme, which started as a commissioned initiative of the City and Guilds of London Institute in 1954/55 with a few dozen 'candidates', now accepts many thousands each year, with nearly eight thousand being awarded certificates in 1990. The author served as tutor, examiner, chief examiner (in the days when written examination was the main mode of assessment), assessor, regional moderator, and for one critical year chief moderator of the programme. At one period he was a much travelled regional assessor, inspecting course-work and teaching practice in many parts of the country, including South Wales and the Isle of Man; his involvement in different types of assessment provoked the first tentative suggestions that eventually led to the decision to abandon formal examinations in the 730 scheme. Such experiences, covering a period of over twenty years, have informed the writing of the book.

Service, too, in other schemes such as that of the East Midlands Regional Advisory Council, a pioneer of training for teachers in adult education, and involvement in the teacher education and examining work of the Royal Society of Arts contributed to the author's awareness of the problems of maintaining voluntary effort in the field.

One consequence of so much direct experience may be occasionally noticeable to readers. It shows up here and there as a dearth of conventional scholarly referencing of reported detail; this results sometimes from the fact that the evidence lies in personal recollection and not archival or documentary research; sometimes it is to be explained perhaps by the writer's over-familiarity with the real-life setting.

Two minor matters should be mentioned. They have to do with the shifts in terminology and jargon that so afflict practitioners and writers in education, shifts which, as in these cases, are of substance rather than mere style. It is now customary to use the term "teacher education" rather than "teacher training". The older expression has been avoided in the title, but is used throughout the text, since it was the one familiar for most of the period covered by the book, and has accordingly the right flavour. The other is the constant repetition of the phrase "further and adult education", also now on its slow way out. There are still many problems here (not eased by the terminology of the government's White Paper and Bill dealing with the field), the chief of which is the increasing meaninglessness of the distinction. This false dichotomy, adopted with much misgiving in the title of the CGLI "Further and Adult Education Teacher's Certificate", is discussed in the book. In due course, it may be hoped, the term will give way to the much more constructive concept of "Continuing Education", as adopted by some universities and in particular the University publishing this work.

On a personal note, I should add that I could not have written the book without the help and encouragement of many people, some of whom were not perhaps aware at the time that they were making such a contribution. As always in such circumstances, it is not possible to mention everyone who has helped, but some have earned special thanks. These include, in particular, Janet Coles and Stuart Marriott, who undertook the arduous job of culling and revising the original typescript to prepare it for the format of the "Leeds Studies" series, at a time when I was seriously ill. Such merits as the book may possess as a pleasurably readable text owe much to their patient and sympathetic treatment of the original. Also I wish to thank very heartily Sigrun Trotter of the Study of Continuing Education Unit at Leeds, with whom I have had so many cheerful and helpful conversations in easing along the business side of the book's publication.

Other notable contributors have been Eric Twigg of the Huddersfield Polytechnic, whose supply of documents and photo-copies was crucial; Eric Tuxworth, some of whose ideas were central to the 'competence' argument; David Minton, colleague for many years on 730 committees and Chief Moderator during the 1980s; Miles Robottom, present Chief Moderator and instructor on the latest phases of the 7307 Scheme; Leonard Cantor, until recently Schofield Professor of Education at the University of Loughborough, and especially constructive critic; Dr Alan Chadwick, Deputy Director of the Department of Educational Studies and the University of Surrey, and an authority on the training of adult education tutors, also colleague of long standing on committees of the Institute and earlier of the East Midlands Regional Advisory Council; Don Scott, Secretary of the National Association for Staff Development and also adviser and critic.

I also owe something to a much more numerous band of fellow tutors, moderators and committee members, who have over the years kept me primed as to essentials, and to staff at the CGLI itself, especially Simon Allison, the perpetually amiable, hospitable and excellently well informed Senior Divisional Officer in charge of the Institute's teachers' schemes; and Peter Stevens, Assistant Director — shortly to retire — who more than anyone made me welcome at the Institute on my visits for research into the records.

I am very grateful to the Director General of the Institute, John Barnes, who has maintained a lively and encouraging interest in my work and has contributed the appreciative Foreword with which this book opens. Resident as I am now many miles from all the people mentioned, and from the City and Guilds Institute with whose work I have been associated since 1958, I constantly feel nostalgic regret that I am not so near to them all as I once was.

Frank Foden
Kirkwall, Orkney
February 1992

Volume Editors' Note

The work published here is an abbreviated version of a wide-ranging historical, policy and autobiographical record of training provision for part-time teachers in further and adult education. The original typescript proved far too extensive and varied in character to be confined within one contribution to the series of 'Leeds Studies in Continuing Education', and the following pages present only the essential core of the enquiry. In the editing we have been compelled to take out a good deal, but otherwise we have tried to avoid doing violence to the author's own manner of writing.

Frank Foden's original offers a fascinating blend of historical scholarship, detailed research in institutional records, particularly of the City and Guilds of London Institute, personal reminiscence of life in the 'Cinderella' further education sector of our public education service, and reportage of many years' involvement in examining, assessing and reviewing courses of training for part-time teachers. In its eye-witness quality, the original version remains a record likely to be of continuing value to students of education, and for that reason copies of the unedited typescript have been placed for reference purposes in a number of institutional libraries. These include the City and Guilds of London Institute, the Royal Society of Arts, the Universities of Leeds, Loughborough, Nottingham and Reading, and the Huddersfield Polytechnic.

Stuart Marriott
Janet Coles

1

Part-time Teachers for a Part-time Service

Not the least peculiar aspect of the English system of post-school education has been its almost complete indifference until recently to the issues of quality, education and training of teaching practitioners in the service. The classic statement of this indifference is that of Captain J. F. D. Donnelly, the 19th-century creator, or rather operator, of the government Science and Art Department at South Kensington, whose main business was the payment to teachers for their success in getting miscellaneous pupils through the Department's annual examinations: 'if a teacher produces nothing he gets no pay, and very soon gives up the attempt to teach. The object of the state is to have the results; the machinery for producing them is immaterial.'[1]

The Department disappeared a long time ago, but its priorities and values remained for much longer. In the first full study of technical education in the years after the Second World War, Dr P. F. R. Venables (later Sir Peter) wrote:

> Until 1946 no full-time teacher training was available for men and women with technical qualifications and industrial experience. Then the first training college was established at Bolton, and housed within the technical college, the second in September, 1946, in London, at the North-Western Polytechnic, now separated as Garnett College, and the third in Huddersfield in January, 1947.[2]

This was in 1955. Venables added with regretful realism:

> There is no status of 'qualified' teacher in further education, as is required in primary and secondary education. Any absolute requirement of this for all teachers in further education would probably be very strongly resisted, not least because it would certainly cut down the supply of likely recruits.[3]

Foreign students of English education must find this inexplicably strange in what for much of the 19th century remained the premier industrial nation of the world. Although France, Germany, the United

States and Japan came later into the race, they gave explicit thought to the provision of proper schooling and technical education. Britain set about creating coherent systems of secondary and technical education, of modest proportions, only in the last decade of that century; and as late as 1945, technical education itself was mostly a part-time affair, the teaching being done by either schoolteachers in the evening, or practitioners of trades and professions with no pedagogic training at all, and no encouragement, incentive, or opportunity to obtain such training.

This notion that teaching the professions and trades, and their background sciences, could effectively be done in evenings and largely from books, was fostered in the unique examination conditions that prevailed from 1860 in what we now call 'further education'. The system of external examining, devoid of basic requirements as to how instruction was to be given, grew up in default of a state-funded programme. Partly on account of a uniquely English, ideological commitment that education should be provided and paid for by those directly benefiting from it and preferably not by the state, a doctrine of 'payment on results' was developed, by which effective instruction could be rewarded without the government having necessarily to accept any obligation to provide schools, equipment or teachers. In addition to exemplifying a principle, the resulting system was 'cheap'.

Accordingly, there was not thought to be much need even to consider the training of teachers for such a system: whether or not they could do the job would come out in the wash. For most of the time from 1860 to 1897, payment on results governed the disbursement of the very limited state funds made available for education in science and technology. The South Kensington system, a feeble and directionless affair in international comparison, was the only initiative that British governments—Conservative or Liberal—would sanction, that is until the report of the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction of 1884 administered a shock to many complacent minds.

The Technical Instruction Act of 1889 and the 'Whisky Money' Act of 1890 for the first time allowed the injection of substantial sums of public money, and technical colleges and institutes began to appear between these years and 1914. Most of them functioned mainly in the evening and, as most providing authorities saw it, there was no call for considerable numbers of trained, full-time teachers in the service. Even when the Association of Teachers in Technical Institutions (ATTI) was formed in 1904, with some 150 members, training was not high on its agenda.[4]

'Teacher training' was generally regarded, in those times, as quite unnecessary for any except the low-status entrants to elementary school teaching. As for secondary schoolteachers, the College of Preceptors had been formed in 1846 to raise the standards; but it was never very successful in developing training, and its main endeavour was a system of examinations for 'Associateship', 'Licentiateship' and 'Fellowship'. Although university graduates were long regarded as qualified to teach, by virtue of holding a degree, from 1890 onwards universities introduced training for elementary schoolteachers seeking degree qualifications and, after 1911, four-year courses, three years of which were devoted to degree studies and the fourth year to training in education. Increasingly graduates who intended to teach in the public sector sought, and were eventually required to obtain, an educational qualification.

These opportunities have never applied in further education. Some of the early campaigners for improved status and responsibility in technical teaching were graduates, the majority were not; a few were trained teachers. The prejudice that teacher education was never really necessary in the profession is understandable; technical and practical competence, together with the wish to teach, were held to be reasonable indicators of capability. As late as 1955, the principal of the Bolton Technical Teachers' College, at that time under threat of closure, was incautious enough to commit himself to the view that 'training is not an essential in further education as it is in primary and secondary.'[5] To this day, pedagogic training is not mandatory, and the Further Education Teacher's Certificate does not have parity with the certificate awarded for teaching in schools. Certificated schoolteachers are eligible to teach in further education colleges; certificated further education teachers have no automatic entrée to schools.

In 1914, the Director of Technical Education for Liverpool, a contributor to discussion in the ATTI about training, quoted from a *Calendar* of the old Science and Art Department:

> A few teachers for Science Schools had from the year 1853 been trained (at the School of Mines) at the Government expense, as well as at the College of Chemistry and at the Diocesan Training College at Chester.... But it soon became evident that science instruction could not at that time be advantageously aided in this manner. The demand for trained science teachers did not exist and had to be created. There were but a few places in which a man could earn a living by science teaching alone. It was necessary to induce men connected with the locality, who had other occupations and means of subsistence, to undertake science teaching in their leisure time. The stimulus afforded by payment on results was... effectual.[6]

This was quite truthful and revealing, though hardly an acceptable explanation for the state of affairs in July 1914, a month before the outbreak of a war which was to demonstrate the effectiveness of Germany's attention to such matters over many decades.

There is now interesting information available about those early attempts to train teachers for science schools. The modest scheme at the School of Mines was introduced by the teachers there, one of whom was T. H. Huxley. One of the group, carefully chosen for the special training was J. C. Buckmaster,[7] an unusual scholar with unusual previous experience. In part because of his achievements as a self-taught public orator, mainly on behalf of the Anti-Corn Law League, he had been admitted as a 'mature student' to Kay-Shuttleworth's Battersea College for the training of elementary teachers. Here he was taken on in 1853 as Science Master and also given a strong recommendation for the award of one of the five training scholarships offered by the School of Mines in that year.

The two-year course was gruelling, but Buckmaster combined his period of strenuous studies with part-time teaching at pioneering institutions such as the Battersea Mechanics Institute, the Wandsworth Trade School, and the Royal Polytechnic. The success of his pupils in the first ever public chemistry examinations, those of the Society of Arts in 1856 and 1857, demonstrated unambiguously the value of good teaching.[8] Buckmaster tells in his autobiography how he attended and enjoyed the course at Jermyn Street, taught by brilliant teachers such as Huxley, Robert Hunt and Professor A. Hofmann of the Royal College of Chemistry. Buckmaster's account of the rigours and misery of the final examination, and the exhilaration of passing, is most entertaining. Of the five who entered the course, only two were successful, Buckmaster and Thomas Coomber. Coomber went as headmaster to the new Bristol Trade School, Buckmaster into the Science and Art Department itself, where he served for more than thirty years as Science 'Organising Master'. It is true, however, that the School of Mines 'experiment' was not continued.[9]

Chester College was quite different. It was set up in 1840, the first of the diocesan colleges and its principal was a remarkable innovating priest, Arthur Rigg, who quickly developed his own ideas about what kind of education young prospective teachers should have. Their course should include intensive practical training (a most unusual notion), and during the early years of the life of the college Rigg developed an exciting programme of work on building projects, construction and use of machinery, operating a steam engine and learning something about practical mechanics. His work attracted attention and visitors from all over Europe.[10]

In addition, Rigg also sought to develop a 'Science School', which would, he hoped, attract students other than those wishing to become teachers. There is some evidence that the Science and Art Department sought to make use of Rigg's expertise in the training of technical teachers. An arrangement was made for sending eight selected students to the Chester College to be trained on a special two-year course.[11] There is also reference in the history of the college to a proposal by which the Science and Art Department would fund eighteen students to stay on beyond the normal teacher-training course and train expressly as teachers of science.[12] Whether the two schemes mentioned were distinct is not clear, nor is there any information about their success or failure. In any case, the entire imaginative venture of the Chester College was run down, and the science school was closed.

The senior officials of the Science and Art Department were much concerned with the need for trained teachers of art and science. By art was meant essentially the drawing and design skills believed to lie at the heart of industrial development. (Science was something of an after-thought in the plans for better training hatched by the Commissioners of the Great Exhibition, and remained a rather half-hearted business with government and industry generally.) The Department, created in 1853, was an amalgam of interests brought together after the creation under the Board of Trade in 1852 of a Department of Practical Art. From the beginning there were experiments in training and subsidising teachers of drawing, and by 1854 the Department was aiding some twenty schools of practical art to train teachers in the subject.[13]

Training in science soon followed. Though not much interested in science, Henry Cole, head of the Art branch, recognized that something must be done, and was strongly in favour of training science teachers in a properly constituted normal school. It had been found, he said, 'that the instruction in science classes was extremely defective, and that the main obstacle in the way of its improvement lay in the ignorance of the proper methods of developing scientific teaching which prevailed among teachers of the classes'.[14] Lyon Playfair, head of the Science branch, took the suggestion coolly, less it may be supposed because of lack of interest in the idea than because of his hard-headed awareness that the Privy Council would not stand for it. 'It would seem to be stepping beyond the functions of the State to establish a Training School for Science Masters,' he said in 1857.[15] This seems to have been about the time that arrangements were made with the Chester College for the training of teachers of science.

Something should be said here about the Department's remarkable examination programme, since this proved to be the main formative influence on the science curriculum for the rest of the century and foundation for the system in which science and technology were taught.

The Department of Science and Art received no government brief for creating a 'Ministry of Scientific and Technical Instruction', though that was what in effect it became, however different it may have been in style from those on the Continent. Rather it was to foster and aid voluntary development in the fields of art and science education. Playfair, unable to get on with the autocratic Cole and disillusioned with the government's intentions as to science, departed for the chair of chemistry at the University of Edinburgh. Cole now became formally Secretary of the whole Department. Early initiatives had taken the form of building grants and small grants to aid teaching in recognized establishments; now the approach changed, partly on the basis of Cole's own experience in peripatetic art examining, and his officers came up with the idea of making grants to teachers rather than to institutions, on the results obtained by their pupils in examinations set and marked by examiners appointed by the Department.

By arrangement with the Society of Arts, which had developed from 1856 onwards a nation-wide programme of examinations in a range of subjects, science subjects were transferred to the Department of Science and Art, which began a full programme of examining in 1860. Success of candidates in the examinations could earn for their teachers remuneration at the rate of £3 for a first-class pass, £2 for a second and £1 for a third. (At a later date, as a result of the unforeseen rapid growth of science studies the rewards were reduced somewhat.) The 'payment-on-results' system (POR) was indeed an enormous success. From 100 papers, 725 passes from 38 'schools' in 1861, the figures had grown to 39,098, 22,105 and 908 in 1871, and in 1895, the last full year of POR, there were 202,868 papers, 85,303 passes and 2,673 schools.[16] It was in these institutions, including every conceivable type of evening school, drawing almost all their revenue from the system, that the scientifically minded youth of the nation— mainly men and boys, of course—learned their elementary and industrial science. (After 1879 and the decision of the newly created City and Guilds of London Institute [CGLI] to provide a similar service in technical subjects, the payment-on-results monies given out during the first ten years of the Institute's technical examining were derived from City Guilds funds rather than from the public exchequer.) The examinations continued for many more years after the end of the actual POR system, and were phased out only following the issue of Circular 776 by the Board of Education in 1911. Their educational legacy continued long after that.

It was also the case that Science and Art Department grants enabled increasing numbers of schoolteachers to become 'qualified' in the teaching of science, even though at this time their training was nothing more than a first- or second-grade pass in the regular science subject examination set for all the Department's candidates. This was really no qualification at all. Of 867 teachers thus recognized in 1870, 556 were ordinary elementary schoolteachers, some of whom had been taught their science in training colleges. It was also the case, until 1878, that such colleges could earn Science and Art Department grants on exactly the same footing as other 'science schools'.[17] According to one Inspector of Training Colleges, 'a very vicious system existed by which in many of the colleges every lecturer was allowed to choose the subject he pleased [from the Science and Art list of examination subjects], published annually and to get the grant for that subject.' Inevitably, it was pointed out, the subjects usually chosen were 'those that are easiest to pass in'.[18]

In 1878 the situation regarding training colleges was brought under control,[19] but other anomalies persisted. Pupil-teachers were often taught science and 'crammed' for examinations in the 'paying subjects', that is those on the Department's lists. Some school boards (introduced after 1870 and now responsible for the recruitment and training of pupil-teachers) aggravated the evil by paying special grant on certificates held by 'science teachers'. The inspector mentioned previously could quote a case where twenty-two certificates were held by a pupil-teacher coming to a training college, while eight was quite common.[20] William Garnett, later first professor of physics at University College, Nottingham, demonstrated how it was possible for someone with enough persistence to get all the certificates listed. He claimed to have taken in 1867 twenty-four of the Department's examinations (actually there were at that time only twenty-three subjects in the list), obtaining twenty-three certificates, with one gold, one silver and three bronze medals, a Royal Exhibition grant of £50 and a year's free training at the Royal School of Mines.[21]

Huxley, a senior member of staff of the School and perhaps the most experienced of the Department's examiners, had objected, in common with other examiners, to testing men who had all the advantages of professional training by the same standards as students in run-of-the-mill science classes. They inevitably tended to do particularly well but, he suspected, their fine results did nothing to improve the quality of the teaching of science. On the other hand, Huxley was appalled at the scientific shortcomings of training college candidates, and even more at the 'excessive badness of the standard of expression' among them, symptomatic as he saw it of the high-flown literary approach resulting from their instruction in English. It was decided to set papers for these students of a definitely 'stiffer character'. The result was 'a most astounding collapse; it was really terrible. The field of battle was strewn with slain; there was hardly anyone left.' The colleges were outraged, but the result led at least to a thoroughgoing enquiry into the modes of teaching science in the colleges.[22]

With what effect it is difficult to establish. Few of the teachers 'qualified' to teach science in those days actually taught any science in the elementary schools. Most of them did their science work in Science and Art Department evening classes, thus supplementing their incomes in a way agreeable to the economic doctrines of the time.

For eight years, from 1859 to 1866, the Department ran a programme of special teachers' qualifying examinations. Those who 'qualified' by gaining a Certificate of Competency in the first grade, were entitled to earn up to £20 'on results' from science classes conducted by them; a second-grade certificate was worth £15, and a third £10. In addition, a sum would be paid in recognition of any Education Department certificates held by the teacher. These certificates, according to the formulae in operation in 1860, might enable a teacher to earn as much as £40 in 'augmentation' provided he taught three science subjects. In 1859 forty-three candidates qualified in this manner; in 1866 there were 198.[23] In

1867 this arrangement was abolished, with the consequence that any holder of a first- or second-class certificate from the regular examinations was permitted to teach. 'The abolition of this examination is also a great saving of expense to the candidates and to the Department,' wrote Donnelly, justifying his decision.[24] Donnelly had become the chief officer of the Science Department after Playfair left, and was designated Inspector for Science in 1858 and Director of Science in 1874.

He evidently came under some fire for this decision, and in a discussion in his report of 1870 he justified his attitude in some detail. He explained that he had recently been preparing his evidence for the Royal Commission on Scientific Instruction (the Devonshire Commission, which sat from 1870 to 1875) and this had caused him to think systematically about the whole of POR and the role of teachers. 'It seems always to be forgotten,' Donnelly wrote, 'that the very best criterion of a teacher is the result of his teaching.' He claimed to have evidence that good and bad teaching, as judged by POR, was very evenly divided between those who had been trained on the discarded programme, and those now going through without such training. Furthermore, a prior requirement was contrary to the principle of payment on results. Then came his celebrated dictum on the need of the state 'to have the results; the machinery for producing them is immaterial.'[25]

Donnelly went on to explain that the circumstances in an elementary school and a 'science school' were not parallel. Teachers in elementary schools were under a duty to provide 'a moral training and other matters of a less definite nature than a specific branch of science', while teachers of science had none of this responsibility. The case would be different if there were many genuine full-time science schools with full-time staff, but there were, Donnelly estimated, not more than eight teachers in the whole country who made their living by teaching science alone.

Given the premises, the facts as known and interpreted in the prevailing context of utilitarian beliefs, Donnelly's arguments were strong. It is difficult to see the point of a teacher's certificate examination without express training, or any examination of teaching ability as such. It had already been acknowledged necessary to exempt from the qualification requirements 'Professors of Universities, and other persons of well-known acquirements'. Such cases were at first 'exceptional' but the exemption was later written into the Regulations of the Department, to include graduates of universities, Associates of the Royal School of Mines, or Royal College of Science, Dublin, and also for purposes of mathematics, some teachers holding Education Department certificates.[26]

Though there were those who disagreed with Donnelly, even within his own department, his statements to the Devonshire Commission were amplified in his evidence to the Samuelson Commission on Technical Instruction of 1884. Such views represent strong undercurrents of sentiment and belief about scientific and technical knowledge. This perhaps explains the apparent indifference and complacency of the later Victorian community on matters which seem to have been crucial to the well-being of the nation, socially and industrially.

There were critics of these rather simplistic views. Two organizations with some experience of systems of instruction were the Yorkshire Union and the Lancashire and Cheshire Union of Mechanics Institutions, both of which had been helping co-ordinate the teaching and examining activities of institutes within their regions since the early 1850s. Some institutes had already undertaken pioneering work in examining, especially the Huddersfield Institution, and they had been enthusiastic supporters of the programme of examinations started by the Society of Arts in 1856. Huddersfield's own programme in 1855 was wholly designed, and the papers marked by the teachers employed to take classes within the Institution. They seem naive and bookish compared with those of the Society of Arts and of the Science and Art Department of a few years later. The papers suggest that 'cramming' was expected and inevitable.[27]

Cramming too would be one of the few recognized ways of learning how to teach, that is, learning by repetition and rote for purposes of regurgitation. Frank Curzon, one of the pioneering examiners of the 1855 experiment at Huddersfield and later Secretary of the Yorkshire Union, appeared before the Samuelson Commission to complain of the serious want of adequately trained teachers of science subjects: 'Although the teacher is industriously crammed and obtains a certificate, he is not always examined as a teacher; his power to impart what he knows is not tested.'[28]

William Gee of the Lancashire and Cheshire Union (ULCI) regretted the lack of an examination for teachers. They should, he said, be examined not in one but in a group of cognate subjects: 'I think we want now a restoration of the teacher's certificate... qualifying a teacher for teaching, which shall include a number of subjects.' He was referring, doubtless, to the examination withdrawn by Donnelly. When his questioner suggested, rather foolishly, that this would lead to certification in combinations of disparate subjects, for example physiology and steam, he reasonably explained that he was talking about 'grouped subject' certificates, resulting from an examination at a considerably higher level than that of the intended pupils. Further, he had views on the need for some literary capacity in a teacher: 'I think that unless he has some literary ability, he does not teach with a full mind or proper directness and power.'[29]

Gee's views were shared by his colleague, J. H. Reynolds, one of the wisest educationists of his time. He went on to become principal of the Manchester Mechanics Institution (which became the Municipal College of Technology, and later the University of Manchester Institute of Science and Technology). Gee and Reynolds had recently shared in discussions of these matters in the Council of the ULCI, and in 1885 this body memorialized the Department of Science and Art on these and other important matters. There was a specific request for the restoration of the teacher's examination as an incentive to special study by would-be teachers of science and technology, and as a means of improving their literacy. Payment on results, said the ULCI, should be graduated to encourage more advanced teaching, and it should no longer be treated as the sole basis of payment to teachers.[30]

William Abney, one of Donnelly's officials at South Kensington, by no means shared his chief's views. 'There are,' said Abney, 'teachers and teachers. Those teachers who work for the "pot" are pretty well known to the Department, and they will teach from the book; the teachers who have attended the classes here are far superior to the majority of those who have never attended any of these classes.'[31] He was referring to the annual courses of lectures for teachers held at South Kensington. These had been first instituted in 1860 at the Metropolitan School of Science Applied to Mining and the Arts (renamed in 1863 the Royal School of Mines). This, together with the Normal School of Design, was one of the major institutions under the direct management of the Department of Science and Art. The lectures were an innovation of the new director of the School, Roderick Murchison, one of the most eminent field geologists of his day. They were repeated in January 1861, but although successful do not seem to have been continued immediately, despite Huxley's suggestion that short summer courses might be held for science teachers at South Kensington.[32]

It is very probable that the whole idea was Huxley's for the issue was one to which he constantly returned. Other scientists who shared his concern were Edward Frankland and John Tyndall. Between them the lecturers persuaded the Department to follow through the idea of summer courses. By a Minute of Council of 1869 holders of first- and second-class certificates who were teaching were made eligible for a free course of lectures, with second-class railway fares paid to London and a subsistence allowance of five shillings a week. The two courses held in 1869, one in Physiology conducted by Michael Foster, and the other in Light by Professor Guthrie, attracted 253 teachers. In 1871 a six-week course was introduced, for all students and elementary teachers who wished to attend.[33] Huxley took a close interest and did his best to ensure that teachers attending should spend much of the time in laboratory work.[34]

In 1872 certain departments of the Royal School of Mines transferred to South Kensington and the science teachers' courses along with them.[35] Up to this time, Huxley had been just a senior teacher in the School of Mines; he went to South Kensington as de facto head. He now pressed for the creation at South Kensington of a fully fledged Normal School of Science, its main purpose being the preparation of teachers for the teaching of science. The normal school was formally inaugurated in

1881, and Huxley became its first dean. Subsequently it was redesignated as the Royal College of Science, and eventually, in 1907, formed the nucleus of the new Imperial College.

Thus came into existence two groups of teachers in the 'vocational' field: a very small élite who would teach full-time in centres of higher scientific and technological education; and a huge mass of part-time teachers, perhaps half of them qualified elementary schoolteachers, and the rest practitioners of many skills and trades with little or no formal training of any kind and sometimes barely literate. The privileged group were mostly those who attended the Royal College, the City and Guilds Engineering College, opened in South Kensington in 1885, and the Royal Indian Engineering College at Egham, founded by the East India Company. They themselves were taught largely by highly gifted enthusiasts for technical education who had gained their knowledge and experience in many different fields, nearly always including a period in a Continental polytechnic such as those of Paris, Zürich, Karlsruhe or Berlin.

Understanding their role as pioneers, they taught intensively and passed on to those students who were minded to follow their example first-class techniques of lecturing, demonstration and laboratory methods. There was probably very little explicit lecturing on educational themes, partly indeed because not much material was yet available. Spencer's *Education* was first published in 1861 but it was several decades before education became a respectable university 'discipline'. The first professorship in education was that of the College of Preceptors in 1872, when Joseph Payne was appointed. He was one of the very few in England who had so far written anything much on the 'theory and practice of education'. Universities began to take an interest only after the creation, from 1890 onwards, of 'day training' colleges and departments, which offered Queen's Scholarship holders the opportunity to study for a degree.

It was not at this stage likely that anyone had given much professional attention to the theory and practice of technical education. Henry Armstrong of the City and Guilds College, however, in addition to being an organic chemist of international repute, did spend much of his time and energy on the issue of teaching method in science, his name being particularly associated with the so-called 'heuristic' method of 'learning by discovery'.[36]

It is not to be supposed that much of this filtered down to the second group, the propagators of 'science' to the masses. There was not, in any case, any agency by which this could be done, for the considerable body of teachers in question had no cohesion. Pressure groups such as the 'X' Club which did much, as Cardwell puts it, 'to ensure that the claims of science and scientific education were kept before the government of the day',[37] were less concerned about 'popular science' than about the very necessary development of higher science and technology facilities. The chief connection between the élite and the humble science teachers was provided by the Department's examinations—set, marked and reported on, sometimes with condescension, by Huxley, Frankland, Tyndall, Smythe and others. An instruction to assistant examiners told them in 1873 that 'a teacher should be certain of passing a fair proportion of moderately stupid students whom he had taught during the winter, (say, giving them 30 or 40 lessons), in the second class' of the Elementary Grade of the examination.[38] The relationship was that of officers and other ranks. Little consultation ever seems to have been arranged between the two groups.

Few 'courses' were available. The South Kensington summer programme did not last, and only drew a small fraction of the mass together. Those who did come were doubtless the more interested, innovative and energetic people who had ambition and possibly opportunity to teach science in day schools. One method by which information and ideas are customarily disseminated among teachers is by an inspectorate. The Science and Art Department was never strong on inspection. Several of its chief officers carried the title of Inspector, but this had nothing in common with the title of 'Her Majesty's Inspector' of the Education Department. HMIs, first appointed in 1840, had the duty of supervising the management and grant-eligibility of elementary schools, later the supervision and examining of pupil-teachers, and after 1862 the examining of all pupils annually in the Three R's. The Science and Art Department's inspectors were concerned rather with the economical administration of funds and only incidentally, and as a result of the vast expansion of the POR scheme, with the organization of 'schools' and the teaching in them. Theoretically grant could be withheld from a teacher for inefficient teaching,[39] but in practice seldom was, since there was so little opportunity and no effective code for the assessment of the teaching. Donnelly himself was very dubious about the value of inspection because, as he put it to the Devonshire Commission, such a huge range of institutions was involved, the Glasgow Technical College at one end and the odd chemistry class at the other.[40]

Huxley also had views on inspection. While convinced of the virtues of the South Kensington examination system he saw fundamental weaknesses in its operation. For him the chief remaining evils were 'cram' (which to the end he saw not as inevitable but as something that could be eliminated by proper measures), insufficiency of advanced instruction and lack of practical tests. He thought these evils could be greatly mitigated if inspectors were appointed, each 'familiar with the particular branch of science the instruction in which he is called upon to inspect'. Teachers would have considerable respect for inspectors; it would be much less easy to hoodwink a man who knew the subject he was inspecting. Reminded that such a service would cost money, Huxley declared 'that the value of what the Department gets for its money might be almost infinitely increased in that way'. He concluded that 'the whole hope of the working of the system is in these two things, a stern execution of their duty by the examiners and efficient inspection.'[41] In 1893, as a result of the increasing volume of work by organized science schools, the country was divided into districts for purposes of inspection; however, the inspectors of the Department were not given the status or authority of HMI. One of them, Frank Pullinger, for the Oxford District, lived on to become Chief Inspector when the Department was absorbed into the new Board of Education after 1899, and it was he, as author of Circular

776 of 1911, who initiated the destruction of the Department's examination programme .

The influence of J. C. Buckmaster during his long run as 'Organizing Master' (1859 to 1894) was considerable. He was appointed by Cole at the critical time when the Department was branching out into the examination business in a big way. Cole recognized in him just the man to stump the country, explaining and describing to all who might wish to know what were the services being offered by this mysterious department. His knowledge of science teaching, the fact that he was already author of a science textbook, the *Elements of Inorganic Chemistry*, and his known ability as an orator, all recommended him for the post of 'Organizing Master'. Buckmaster organized little, but became the most knowledgeable and most widely travelled man in the Department. He had views on methods of teaching that owed much to the 'Object Lesson' technique. What the method mostly amounted to was 'practical demonstration', presenting scientific information from the teacher's demonstration bench rather than encouraging the pupils to learn for themselves. It was to be attacked by supporters of Armstrong's 'heurism', but in real life Buckmaster's approach had much to commend it, for there was little in the way of laboratory equipment in many of the 'schools' preparing students for the Department's examinations. How was the teacher to do a demonstration, let alone allow the pupils to try an experiment for themselves?

Buckmaster produced numerous textbooks, ranging through elementary chemistry, physics, mechanics, acoustics, magnetism and electricity, heat, light and sound, and all written from the viewpoint that the student would learn mostly from reading, 'being taught' and the occasional demonstration. For him, as for most of his contemporaries, the science which needed to be taught was of principles 'which are applicable to the various specified employments of life', rather than the basic understanding of the professional scientist. Accordingly his arguments, for all their becoming old-fashioned, were more in tune with the experience and aspirations of science teachers preparing students for the examination 'pot' than were the higher ideals of the professors at the

Royal College and the City and Guilds College.[42]

He had a connection with the tentative moves, begun in the late years of the century, by the City and Guilds Institute to enter the field of teacher training. These moves had to do with manual training and especially the teaching of cookery. Buckmaster had begun to explore the problems of cookery, becoming in due course a notable demonstrator. Indeed as a showman in the art of simple cookery and author of several popular textbooks, he helped to promote popular demand for cookery classes, both in the evening for adults and in day school for girls. Philip Magnus, the City and Guilds examination chief, got caught up in the movement, as he did in that for manual training, and set in train the initiatives leading to the first examinations for teachers by that body. We shall return to this topic.

Adult education—though not always labelled as such—was a wide and varied field of activity in the 19th century. The usual convention is to see the origins of what a later age recognizes as adult non-vocational education in the University Extension movement, initiated by the University of Cambridge in 1873. But voluntary adult education had started long before that, and was at the heart of the earlier mechanics institute movement itself.

During the century many ventures with an educational dimension to them, religious, secular, social and philanthropic were set up, their 'teachers' being recruited from among a vast variety of voluntary enthusiasts. The 'night schools', conducted in day-school premises by day-school teachers, experienced fluctuating fortunes, but were an ineradicable part of the system by the end of the century. They were victims of official indecisions and about-turns. For whom were they intended, young people above school age or adults? Were they the adults' equivalent of the elementary school? Would they become redundant as basic schooling improved? Might they even cater for the social and recreational needs of the people? In their actual evolution they were something of a puzzle to those who understood the education of the people simply in terms of Utility or social hierarchy. They remained totally marginal.

Political inconsequence, variety and absence of any binding principle meant that adult education remained a patchwork—however much later historians were able to detect in it the progress of a 'movement'. Also it represented in extreme form the 19th-century English preference for voluntary initiative. For all these reasons it was unlikely to make much audible contribution to the debate about whether teachers in education beyond the school phase should be trained. Any meaningful development of training for non-vocational adult education had to wait until comparatively late in the 20th century.

2

Enter the City and Guilds

Although a certain sense of urgency was detectable from time to time during the 19th century, there was not much sign that the country was willing to discard laisser-faire prejudices against the public provision of education. Until 1899, England and Wales did not even have a ministry of education as such. The Board of Education was formed in 1899, and set about a fairly leisurely job of improvement; in 1902 the Education Act, for the first time, gave the state some direct responsibility for secondary education. The Board's most vigorous task then was to dismantle the de facto secondary schooling that had grown up under the School Boards created as a result of the 1870 Elementary Education Act; and to put in its place a selective system of state-aided grammar schools whose curricular priorities, copied from the public schools, had far less to do with science and vocationally biased studies than might have seemed appropriate for a country trying to keep up with the modern world.

Neither were the so-called 'polytechnics', set up in London during the last years of the 19th century with funds derived from City charities, the step forward that they might appear; they had precious little in common with the polytechnics of the continent. The first of them, Quintin Hogg's Regent Street Polytechnic, was in origin a boys' club, its first technical provision being mainly a few wood and metalwork classes. Its mystique, which has tended to represent it as a centre of high technology, was spurious. The name of Polytechnic was simply purchased by Hogg along with the premises—the buildings had previously housed a kind of technical museum, where, among other entertaining gadgets, Pepper's Ghost was first exhibited. Until after the First World War, the amount of high-level technical education offered at the Regent Street Polytechnic, as at the Northern, Northampton, Battersea, Borough-Road and Chelsea, was limited.

This is not to denigrate institutions which, in the course of time, did come to make a significant contribution, but to illustrate the lack of seriousness with which this country tackled fundamental educational reform in the 19th century. The very use of the term polytechnic to describe modest voluntary and philanthropic institutions would be regarded by most Continentals as inappropriate. In the early 20th century Imperial College and the Manchester School of Technology were the only major institutions entitled to regard themselves as in the same league as the great schools of science and technology in other European countries and the USA.

Yet during the last quarter of the 19th century there there had emerged a vocal lobby for public investment in technological education. An important focus was provided by the National Association for the Promotion of Secondary and Technical Education, which represented a growing amount of irritation that nothing had resulted from the radical recommendations of the 1884 Royal Commission on Technical Instruction. Frequently noted in the evidence to that commission, and in the association's publicity, was the alarming growth now apparent in German industrial and trading capability. This was a constant theme in the speeches of Sir Philip Magnus, director of the City and Guilds of London Institute, knighted on account of his services to the Commission, for which he travelled huge distances in Germany, France and Belgium, viewing technological development in all these countries.[1] By the beginning of this century there was some vigorous building of technical colleges and institutes, originally started under the provisions of the technical instruction Acts of 1889 and 1890, but facilities in many localities remained sparse. Cities as large as Nottingham, Southampton and Reading continued to rely for their technical education mainly on evening classes held in schools and a variety of other institutes, and in their local university colleges.

Although even by 1913 Germany's per capita level of industrialization did not quite match that of Britain, its engineering productivity was handsomely in the lead.[2] The Great War found Britain dangerously short of almost every kind of technical skill. It also revealed the Germans to be incomparably better educated and technologically prepared, a result undoubtedly of their seriousness about education at all levels, creation of centres of higher technology, and introduction in some parts of complete patterns of continuative education, including day-release for apprentices and artisans.

Examinations for all—teaching for the pot

In the circumstances of the English further educational system it would have been astonishing if early developments in the training of its teachers had not been as skimpy and part-time as the provision over which they presided . It would have been astonishing too, for any developments not to have been examination-led. It is in fact to the examination schemes of the City and Guilds of London Institute that we must turn for the first endeavours in part-time teacher-training.

For many people the existence and function of the CGLI and of the RSA (Royal Society of Arts) seem a natural and inevitable part of the order of things in the educational universe. This is not the place to examine in any detail, the nature and work of these bodies, both outside the statutory educational establishment, but both exercising enormous influence over vocational education. Along with the Science and Art Department they constituted the main recognized means of assessment and certification of achievement. None of these bodies set up its examination schemes in response to the discovered needs of schools and pupils. The express purpose of all the schemes was to provide incentives to students to learn and teachers to teach, and also to encourage local folk, industrial and commercial interests, to produce the main wherewithal—accommodation, equipment and pay for teachers—which the state would not provide but might judiciously aid.

It was the Society of Arts (Royal from 1907) that set the ball rolling, with its examination programme of 1856. Charged with the duty of assisting the development of science education in the country at large, the

Science and Art Department saw in this plan an idea worth following through on a larger scale. As indicated in Chapter 1, the Department's examination system became a huge apparatus for the promotion of science education, undoubtedly successful, but bearing little resemblance to the centrally directed state systems to be found in other European countries. It called into being a part-time teaching service for part-time students. All the instruction provided under its aegis was entirely conditioned by the requirements of the examination. (It was the utter bleakness of the curricula of the 'organized science schools' that so outraged their critics.)

Having in some sense been duped into assisting the teaching of science outside the elementary schools, governments were adamant that they had no intention of doing the same for technical education. A constant refrain in discussions on the problems of artisan education was that industry—or the artisans—should pay. Great pressure was brought to bear on the rich London City Companies in the 1870s to use some of their wealth to assist the education of apprentices, and in the face of a threat of legislation that might compel them to do so, they set up in 1878 the City and Guilds of London Institute, with the express object of promoting technical education in the kingdom. The Institute appointed as its first director Philip Magnus, a man of keen intellect with a passionate concern for the development of technological education, in which he believed the country was falling far behind. Its initiatives included the creation of a model technical college (the Finsbury College), the building and staffing of a major institute of higher technological education (the Central Institute in Exhibition Road, South Kensington), and of course an examination programme for the country's young artisans in technological subjects distinct from science.

For ten years the City and Guilds Institute built up to examining students in fifty subjects and paid on the results at the same rate as the Science and Art Department. The resources of the guilds, however considerable, could not possibly cope with the rapidly increasing number of examination passes, and payments were withdrawn in 1890 (except in London where they continued for the time being). Five years later the

Science and Art Department also ceased making payments on results, but by this time the essential pattern of science and technical education based on the requirements of 'external' examinations was firmly set, and remained so into the 20th century.[3]

The demand for better teachers in the new part-time evening technical classes was, if anything, even more pressing than for science teachers. At least science could be taught by schoolteachers, however inadequately trained. The trades that were the subject of the first examinations of the City and Guilds Institute included the manufacture of steel, paper, cloth, cotton, silk, linen, framework-knitting, bleaching and dyeing, pottery and porcelain manufacture, carriage-building. By 1900 there were sixty-four subjects, with sub-divisions, which could only be taught by tradesmen themselves, few of whom were likely to have much knowledge of the art of teaching. Engineering, electrical and mechanical, and some of the chemical trades, for instance tar-distillation, might attract the attention of more sophisticated teachers, but here too there were few suitable professionals to hand.

The first priority was to obtain the services of competent examiners, and here the Institute used the same policy as that of the Science and art Department of engaging as many 'eminences' as possible to oversee the operation. The Institute made especial use of its own new professional staff, the teachers at Finsbury and Central colleges, and, as they became available, professors of applied disciplines in the University of London and the new civic colleges. Among these at one time or another were Professors W. H. Perkin, the inventor of aniline dyes, Alexander Fleming of 'Fleming's Rule' in electricity, H. Hele-Shaw, the eminent professor of engineering at Liverpool who pioneered in the twentieth century the first National Certificate scheme. There were J. Bannister Fletcher, eminent architect, who maintained his connection with CGLI carpentry and joinery for many years, and Professor Henry Beaumont of the Yorkshire College, examiner in Wool.[4]

Recruitment of teachers was another matter and there was, understandably, a perennial shortage in almost every subject. To begin with, the Institute could make payments to teachers only 'on account of persons actually engaged in Science and Art Classes under the Science and Art Department, or of persons who have passed in the Honours Grade of the Technological Examinations of the subjects taught'.[5] In the Programme of 1882 the requirements were changed. A Register of Teachers was opened, the prime qualification being possession of a Full Technological Certificate of the Institute, or a First-Class Advanced Grade Certificate in the subject taught. On 30 March 1882, the right of admission to the register on any other grounds lapsed.[6] The difficulty of getting teachers was not eased by this, and Magnus recommended to his management committee that the conditions be relaxed. The rule forthwith was that 'any teacher who is engaged in teaching Science under the Science and Art department and gives evidence of having acquired in the Factory or Workshop practical knowledge of the subject in which he desires to be registered as a teacher' could be admitted.[7]

Considerable difficulty still remained, according to the Director's report for 1883 'in finding competent teachers for technical classes, possessing both a practical and scientific acquaintance with their subject'. It was anticipated 'that this difficulty will be somewhat lessened when the Central Institute is in working order, where courses of instruction adapted to the requirements of technical teachers might be given with advantage during the summer months'.[8] The problem was in fact one of the early concerns of the teachers at the Central Institution, and courses of the kind anticipated by Magnus were organized. The largest single group of students enrolled on the Institution's books for 1888 consisted of the summer course students, 175 out of a college total of 431. Of these 81 were teachers; their courses covered gas manufacture, carpentry, bread-making, and various branches of applied science. It was not regarded as successful as it might have been, and an assessment of 1889 runs: 'The number of teachers is disappointing, considering that classes are free to registered teachers of the Institute ... on the whole the most satisfactory members of classes [that is, classes on their summer course] were not registered teachers, but were persons engaged in industrial work, as engineers, architects, bakers etc.'[9]

In the matter of the register, the Institute had a somewhat more enlightened policy than the Science and Art Department, for whose purposes an advanced-level higher certificate was an automatic qualification for teaching. The Institute maintained its right not to admit applicants to the register, and to withhold grant if it should see fit to do so.[10] The register continued after the abolition of payments, and the names of teachers on it were published in full in each year's programme; its chief use, according to Magnus' report of 1893, was the guidance it provided to local committees and managers of institutions in making appointments. He added, somewhat ruefully: 'Notwithstanding the care exercised by the Institute in the registration of teachers, it will have been seen that in many subjects the standard of the instruction is still at a low level; and the want is very generally felt of competent teachers, familiar with the practice of the trade, who have received an adequate training in the methods of instruction and in the principles of the application of science.'[11]

The examiners' reports constantly harp on student inadequacies which better teaching might surely have remedied. 'The Drawings of plants are with few exceptions extremely bad, and indicate in many instances that the candidates are devoid of the rudiments of ordinary education,' said Professor Meldola of his twenty candidates in Coal-Tar Manufacture in 1887. 'There is again manifest, in many of the students' papers,' said Mr R. Marsden, the examiner in Cotton Manufacture, 'a defective condition of elementary education and a consequent inability to express in language the practical knowledge of which, in many cases, they are unquestionably possessed' (711 candidates, 303 failed). Of Pottery and Porcelain, examined by Gilbert Redgrave: 'the drawing is very indifferent. Many of the candidates lack the ability to describe in writing, simple operations with which they must be quite familiar in the routine of their daily work.'[12]

Most examiners agreed that the chief weaknesses of the candidates were poor powers of expression, and lack of skill in drawing. Mathematical ability was less often criticized. Two ironies about all this are that the method chosen to promote scientific and technical education, examination by written papers, placed heavy demands on the language skills of what was probably the worst-educated working-class community of industrial Europe; and that the great majority of teachers were deficient in their own command of language.

As time went on it became clear that the Institute must develop closer connections with the teachers who prepared candidates for its examinations. As a private body, it had neither authority nor resources for running an effective inspection service but during the last years of the 19th century it came under increasing pressure to inspect. Part of this came from employers and trade groups, now familiar with the Institute and frequent critics of the content of syllabuses and examination papers. There was criticism, too, from educational bodies such as the new technical instruction committees of county councils, and demands for local involvement in the examining work and the appointment of examiners. Particularly insistent upon this were the regional examining unions which had revived with the onset of public funding of technical education. They included the Union of Lancashire and Cheshire Institutes (ULCI), the Yorkshire Union (YC) and the newly formed Union of Educational Institutions (UEI), operating from Birmingham, all now offering whole programmes of examination, ostensibly more closely related to the needs of students in their localities.

A more coherent system of further education was coming into existence around the turn of the century, funded and managed, like the other main sectors of education, by local authorities. Large increases in the numbers of evening-school students suggested that even more examinations were needed. The biggest apparent gap concerned the school-leavers of 12 or 13 years, seeking to prepare for the examinations of the established bodies, but without the literacy to cope. The regional examining unions moved in to meet the needs of this group, known in union parlance as the 'Pre-Seniors'. Larger and larger numbers of seekers for pre-senior awards crowded into the classes; more and more elementary schoolteachers took up night-school work to teach them their English, Arithmetic and Technical Drawing. Eventually some of these people organized themselves into a national association, The Confederation of Continuative Teachers, the only group of practitioners ever to concern itself specifically with the pay and conditions of part-time further education staff.

The English plague of examining, as some observers saw it those days, showed no sign of abating. There was money in it, for fees were payable and increasingly by the local education authority; there was also, supposedly, prestige. One of the bodies entering the examination fray was the National Union of Teachers, whose Examination Board, set up in 1895, made no secret of the of the fact that there were 'pecuniary benefits' in the move.[13] In 1898 the NUT introduced the Junior Commercial Certificate examination, which was to attract its largest single group of candidates. This endeavour drew the enthusiastic approval of Sir James Pitman, whose system of shorthand was adopted so widely in British commerce that it achieved a virtual monopoly in evening schools. (His company itself developed a comprehensive programme of examinations which long remained popular, and were in 1990 taken over by the CGLI itself—see Chapter 9.) In 1908 the NUT introduced its pompously entitled 'Syllabus of Entrance Examinations to Technological Courses, comprising Practical Arithmetic, English and Elementary Science', with, it was claimed, some approval from the City and Guilds; the examinations were exactly equivalent to those of the examining union pre-senior schemes.[14]

Competition was increasing and threats to City and Guilds supremacy in technical examining were now coming from the new Board of Education itself. From 1900 the Inspectorate began to build up a case against external examinations which resulted in Circular 776 of 1911, abolishing the old Department Science Examinations. The Inspectors, led by Frank Pullinger, also began a campaign against the CGLI, which in 1918 nearly brought about the end of the Institute's examining altogether.

The regional unions were also encouraged to assist in the campaign. Other allies in the attack on the CGLI, and apparently on the very principle of external examinations, were the Association of Technical Institutions (ATI), the London Polytechnic Council and the Association of Teachers in Technical Institutions (ATTI). The ATI and the Council, both formed about 1893, kept up a generally amicable demand that the City and Guilds Institute should allow more participation in its processes to the larger colleges. The ATTI was founded in 1904, and one of the earliest entries in its proceedings reads: 'The Council recommends that steps be taken at an early date, by deputation or otherwise, to urge upon the Public Examination Authorities, the importance of securing closer cooperation between the Examiner and the Teacher.'[15] The technical instruction committees of the county councils had also become players in the game, anxious to win some involvement in and control of the curriculum in the colleges for which they were responsible. Their Association of Directors and Organising Secretaries included among its membership strong campaigners against the City and Guilds.

The external examination system, as a means of promoting scientific and technical education, was manifestly unsuited to the creation of a genuine system of further education under the Acts of 1889 and 1902. The City and Guilds Institute, until now a sort of unofficial Department of Technical Education, was still examining furiously. Its style, which allowed for little formal consultation and representation of teachers or anyone else, was increasingly regarded as unacceptably authoritarian. Criticism of the examinations, composition of the Examinations Board, inadequacies of student work, was building up.[16]

Little of this had to do with effective quality control of teaching, and in all the comment directed at the Institute there were few references to the training of the teachers. There was little advantage in an attack on this particular front: recruitment and retention of teachers were already problems enough, and as for training there was obviously neither time nor money. This conclusion is borne out by reports sent back to the Institute by the few inspectors actually appointed, in boot and shoe, plumbing, industrial chemistry and textiles.

Yet, there was a problem and Magnus, who visited schools, institutes and colleges all over the country, was well aware of the shortcomings of the system. (He would criticize, for example, teaching that was altogether theoretical and conducted without the aid of apparatus.) It was in fact Magnus who initiated the programmes of examinations for teachers which, during the later years of the 19th century, set the Institute on the road of involvement in teacher training.

Training for teachers of Manual Training

Magnus was well qualified to undertake the examination of teachers. He had nearly thirty years behind him as director of the Institute, supervising the examination of most of the established trades, and assessing the work of teachers in innumerable technical schools, in Britain and abroad. Before appointment he had himself been an examiner, coach, itinerant teacher and lecturer in education, adviser to schools on the teaching of science and a writer of two well-used textbooks, *Lessons in Elementary Mechanics* and *Hydrostatics and Pneumatics*.

For a time he served on the London School Board and as a result of his connection there with Canon Barnett became involved with various experiments in the inclusion of manual work in the ordinary curriculum of schools. As a result the Board approached the Institute, suggesting that the City Companies might like to assist a particular experiment in providing woodwork classes.[17]

Magnus told the story of the Institute's subsequent examination for teachers of manual training in two excessively pompous addresses which he gave in 1894 and 1903 to the National Association of Manual Training Teachers.[18] In the 1880s the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction had given some support to the introduction of manual training into the elementary-school curriculum. Magnus took up the idea because it would help to enliven the often dull routine of schools, devoted as they were to the ideas of knowing rather than doing. It was high time, he thought, that popular education was made practically relevant to the problems of living in a complex industrial society. 'Manual education is the study of the external world,' he quoted with approval from Emerson. He was elected President of the recently formed National Association of Manual Teachers at the inaugural meeting in 1894. Over the next twenty years there was a substantial growth in the elementary schools of woodwork, and to a less extent of metalwork.

The most serious deficiency was a lack of teachers for manual training, which demanded distinctive techniques and was potentially dangerous. A joint committee of the City and Guilds and the London School Board was set up in 1887 to foster the subject, some funds being made available from outside the Institute by the Drapers' Company. The committee 'adopted' a number of schools and appointed peripatetic teachers.[19] Another group, based in Whitechapel and calling itself the Guild of School and Handicraft Teachers, approached the Institute with a request for an examination for teachers of woodwork in elementary schools.[20] It was introduced as the Elementary Teacher's Certificate in Woodwork, and was specifically designed to satisfy the requirements of the Education Department's 1890 Code. Only elementary teachers were eligible for this two-year programme; they had to attend practical woodwork lessons under an approved instructor and take written papers, one of which included 'school management' and teaching.[21]

Classes were arranged during the first season in London by the Central Institution and the Guild and School of Handicraft in Whitechapel, and in the provinces by the Manchester School Board, the Sheffield Technical School, and the Brighton Technical School.[22] The annual reports of the CGLI reveal the popularity of the manual-training examinations: at the first examinations of 1892 there were 615 candidates; entries almost doubled the next year; and in 1894 reached 1,766. Afterwards numbers dropped as the first flush of demand was satisfied, but up to the war entries never fell below 700 and in 1913 had reached over 1,500 again. Statistical details are presented in the Appendix, Table 1.

Requests began to be received from overseas, and manual training examinations were held in New South Wales and in Jamaica.[23] There were other approaches, from several technical instruction committees seeking advice about organizing and examining woodwork classes for former elementary schoolboys. The Institute took the opportunity of getting drafted a syllabus of woodwork instruction for the guidance of committees.[24]

Occasionally, the restriction of the manual training teachers' courses to elementary schoolteachers was evaded, and the Institute took steps to enforce the condition. On the other hand, demands for relaxing the rule began coming in and in 1897 a change was introduced so that anyone who had passed qualifying examinations in any technology under specific circumstances, could take the examinations.[25] Another suggestion followed, that artisans who wished to become teachers of woodwork should be enabled to attend part-time courses of instruction in pedagogy arranged by local authorities. The Institute came up with a rather elaborate proposal, in a circular to technical instruction committees.[26] The courses might, it was suggested, include instruction in: school, workshop and stock management; appliances; lighting, heating and ventilating; methods and schemes of instruction; the connection of drawing with bench work; the connection of drawing with other school work. A 'Scheme B' for the testing of artisan candidates was included in the programme for 1901/02, entry to which required possession of a certificate in an examination of the Institute in a related subject such as Carpentry and Joinery, Ship Carpentry, Cabinet Making.

Not all the candidates who came forward for Scheme B were sufficiently literate to explain themselves clearly, and three years later a Literary Test was added to the requirements.[27] This was a new and surprising departure for the Institute. For many years, it had carefully avoided becoming involved in testing of the literacy of its candidates, despite the frequent complaints of the examiners. The change of policy followed shortly on the complaint of the 1903 report about the poor quality of worked examination papers in general:

> It is certain that no great improvement in the intellectual character of the answers can be looked for, until the teaching in elementary schools is more practical, and further attention is given to training in drawing and scientific method and English composition. The power of expression, which involves clearness of thought, is almost as necessary to an artisan, as knowledge of principles and skill.[28]

The Board of Examinations of the Institute considered that the literacy of the teachers whom it was now busy certifying to be sufficiently important for it to take definite action. The literary test actually set was not very difficult:

> Candidates will be required to answer a few simple questions, as a test of their ability to express their ideas clearly and concisely in correct English. Not more than one hour and a half will be allowed for this part of the examination, and the questions will be restricted to a description of things connected with the work, with which the Candidates must be well acquainted.[29]

One of the three questions to be answered read: 'Give an account of how you spend your ordinary week-day, and describe any particular piece of work on which you have recently been engaged.'

The literary test continued as a regular part of the main scheme, which underwent very few other changes before the war. The only other one of any importance had already occurred in 1901, when pupil-teachers were admitted to Scheme A following a recommendation of the National Association of Manual Teachers.[30] That the Board of Education was not yet prepared to go any further in these matters is illustrated by comments in its *Report on Manual Instruction in Public Elementary Schools*, prepared by a group of Inspectors in 1910: 'Theoretically it is certainly desirable that all the instructors should be certificated teachers.... On the other hand, we should hesitate to recommend the Board to discontinue the present practice in regard to the recognition of properly qualified artisan teachers.' Magnus himself indicated his strong approval of the conclusions of this committee, commenting for example, 'the ideal to be aimed at is that all forms of handwork should be taught in the schools themselves by the ordinary teachers.'[31]

Educational Handwork

So the Board of Education was at last taking a direct interest in vocational education. At the centre of HMI interest, though, was a concern for improved elementary education, and the team of inspectors specifically concerned with science and technology, headed by Pullinger, remained of secondary importance. It is not surprising that the first significant interest shown by the Board in the training of technical teachers should have arisen because of a connection with elementary-school work.

A conference was held at the Board's offices in 1909, attended by representatives of the City and Guilds Institute and the rather pretentiously named Examinations Board of the Educational Handwork Association, another of the bodies that sprang up in these years to promote self-help in areas of the education system where the central authority had no real plans and was being hustled along by public demand.[32] The Educational Handwork Association, which had itself begun examining teachers in 1898, was mainly concerned with light crafts—clay and plasticine modelling, cutting and modelling in paper and cardboard, light woodwork, cane-weaving and basket-making, raffia and wool weaving, wirework and stringwork—the kinds of skills considered suitable for inclusion in the elementary curriculum, especially for children between the ages of 7 and 11.

The initiative for calling the meeting was that of the Association. Its main object was to gain some recognition by the City and Guilds Institute, and the proposal was made for a joint scheme of examining. A further meeting was held at the Board's offices at which proposals for an amalgamation were put forward, and rejected by Magnus on the grounds that 'amalgamation with any other Body in the carrying out of work in which they have engaged for many years' was out of the question.[33] It was decided that only the most general kind of co-operation was possible. The Institute was not keen to take up the matter of examining handicraft teachers; it rejected the idea of a joint board, and would prefer the Board of Education to do something about the matter. The best course, it suggested, might be for the Educational Handwork Association to 'leave to the Board of Education the task of determining the qualifications of school teachers for teaching elementary handicraft'. The Institute would, of course, continue for the time being, to certify teachers of woodwork and metalwork.[34] Agreement was reached that the Association should cease examining in woodwork and metalwork, and that the Institute would retain this monopoly until such time as the Board might be willing to take over.[35] The Association was to continue examining in the light crafts.

The episode illustrates two contemporary aspects of training for the teaching of vocational subjects. Though uneasy about the implications of greater emphasis on the vocational element in school curricula, the Board was becoming aware that it might have to take up responsibilities for its development and for training teachers to teach it. Although the teaching profession and the Board's officers and Inspectors had little understanding of, or enthusiasm for the vocational, the City and Guilds Institute was receiving intimations that its own role was threatened with absorption by a rapidly learning and somewhat hostile government department.

Domestic Subjects

Inevitably, the manual training movement began to take account of girls, and equally inevitably, the subjects were the 'domestic arts', as Magnus classified them, the three C's—cooking, cleaning and clothing. In an address to the Parents' National Educational Union in 1903, he suggested:

> In everything relating to the management of a household, a girl finds scope for manual training and the study of scientific method. Properly taught, the domestic arts are probably of higher educational value, as centres of instruction, than woodwork and metalwork. They are richer in ideas, and may be made the means of extending even more widely the circle of thought. It is, however, necessary that the subjects should be taught educationally rather than professionally.[36]

The Institute had already introduced a group of domestic subjects. Dressmaking and Millinery had started in 1893 and 1894 as industrial crafts, but they drew in immediately numbers of housewives—'non-vocational' students in the later jargon. This work was the first in the Institute's list required to be 'under the direction of a Committee of a School Board, a Municipal Council, Technical School or other public body', a sign of the Institute's rising sensitivity to criticism from an increasingly confident public service, and an attempt to avoid the promotion of numbers of frivolous classes.[37] Furthermore, a substantially higher examination fee was exacted of candidates without trade credentials, that is of outsiders such as ordinary folk, housewives and young women not in employment.[38] In 1898 the Institute introduced Plain Needlework and Plain Cookery, both directed at 'non-vocational' groups.

In the early days of Dressmaking the failure rate was very high; few students could be persuaded to enter an advanced examination, and eventually Advanced Grade for the domestic subjects was abandoned.[39] Both these effects reflected changes in the character of the student body in the night schools. New kinds of students were being attracted to classes preparing for Institute examinations. They were coming into a system now liberalized by the Education Department's reforming Code of 1893, which had introduced new methods of funding and ended the tyranny of payment on results. There was also at the time a considerable growth of popular interest in better cooking, itself an outcome of the commoner use of the gas stove in towns (and not unconnected with the efforts of J. C. Buckmaster). In total the domestic subjects attracted 1,067 examination candidates in 1900, 227 of them in Cookery.[40]

The pioneering authority in the development of domestic subjects in schools was the London School Board. It experienced, inevitably, a severe shortage of teachers, and the City and Guilds Institute's examination in the subject was the obvious minimum qualification for getting an appointment as a teacher of dressmaking. The School Board must have received numbers of applications from holders of the Institute's certificates, for in 1898 it sought guidance whether a second-class certificate might be regarded as a suitable qualification to teach. The Institute could only reply that the second-class certificate 'would not by itself, be considered as qualifying the holder to give instruction in the subject.'[41]

The inauguration in 1902 by the Institute of a teacher's certificate examination in Domestic Economy followed a personal approach by William Abney, one of the Secretaries of the Board of Education. He asked whether the Institute would co-operate with the Board in granting certificates in Domestic Economy, including laundry-work, similar to those in Manual Training. A scheme was drafted immediately. Subjects were arranged in two groups: Group A being Plain Cookery, Laundry

Work, Home Management; Group B, Plain Needlework, Dressmaking, Millinery. Candidates could take a certificate in one or more subjects in either group, and the award was to entitle teachers to instruct in evening- or elementary day-classes.[42]

At the same time as the scheme was being worked out, the Institute was trying to persuade the Board of Education to give official recognition to its Manual Training, and now Domestic Economy certificates—a move connected with its efforts to gain recognition, under the provisions of the Board of Education Act of 1899, as an agency competent to inspect the subjects being taught in schools. Negotiations were long, tedious and, on the Board's side at least, not very constructive. The Institute did receive recognition, both as to rights of inspection and as to the status of teachers holding its certificates. In its report for 1901/02 this recognition,and agreements about endorsement of full technological certificates and representation of the Board of Education on the CGLI Board of Examinations were recorded as 'marking a step, and as regards technical instruction, a very important one, towards the unification of the different educational activities under a Central Board'.[43] The central board never materialized, and the smooth relations between the Board of Education and the Institute did not long survive the departure of Abney, who retired in 1902. A new regime, led by the no-nonsense Frank Pullinger now began in the Board's Technical Department.

Complex adjustments in the conditions under which the Domestic Economy certificates were to be awarded finally resulted in official recognition for at least the subjects of Group A.[44] The other subjects appear never to have obtained full recognition; they were approved for the purposes of the Code governing evening schools, but unlike the Manual Training certificates, were not held to be applicable to teachers in day elementary schools. In any case the Group A certificate scheme itself was not to survive.

Teacher's Certificate in Blackboard Writing

Before leaving the City and Guilds at this stage, however, there should be noted its oddest venture of all into the field of teacher training, the inauguration in 1910 of the Certificate in Blackboard Drawing for teachers of dressmaking, millinery and plain needlework. It took the place of an examination recently conducted by HMI under the regulations for technical schools. There were three parts to the examination:[45] Object Drawing (drawing a garment or hat from an example supplied so as 'to make without rule or measurement an intelligible diagram suited for class demonstration'; Memory Drawing; Scale Drawing (drawing, with the aid of T-square, ruler, set-squares and compasses, an enlarged scale version of a small diagram). Test sheets of brown paper were supplied by the candidate's school, and finished work was sent to South Kensington for examination. The Blackboard Test only attracted a few candidates to begin with, but by 1914 there were 135 entries. The failure rate was enormous, 59.7 per cent in 1911 and 43 per cent in 1914.[46]

The test was introduced with the full co-operation of the Board of Education, and yet the Institute was blandly informed that the Board had decided two years ago not to recognize in future any teacher's certificate in technical subjects.[47] The Institute was free, therefore, so Magnus was informed, to make whatever regulations for the award of certificates it found advisable. To those in the know, but only them, this casual announcement revealed the Board's new intentions towards the Institute, and all other external examining bodies—it proposed to abolish them if at all possible. The driver behind this thrust was Pullinger.

Still, the Institute was to carry on, and mainly after the Second World War to develop its teachers' certificate programmes much further. The central authority long maintained a stand-offish attitude to the City and Guilds involvement; but it was not that Board or Ministry had anything of its own to fill the constantly widening gap of inadequate training for part-time technical teachers. It was as though they did not really think that training in this quarter was necessary, while at the same time not being too anxious to see anyone else taking over.

3

From War to War

The Education Act of 1918, which embodied some good resolutions generated during the war, was not really a very radical measure; it fixed the school-leaving age at 14, strengthened some of the powers of the local education authorities, but left intact most of the provisions of the 1902 Act, with all their anomalies. The new act's most imaginative clauses were those concerned with the setting up of day continuation schools, for those who left school at 14. The schools would be provided by local authorities. Attendance would be for a minimum of 320 hours a year, up to the age of 16; eventually, attendance to the age of 18 would be required. Not a great deal of thought or planning had gone into the design of this measure.[1]

Although the idea was taken up enthusiastically enough by some local authorities, especially the London boroughs, and some employers like Rowntree of York and Boot's of Nottingham, the general lack of suitable accommodation, resources and equipment, of a properly thought-out curriculum and teachers with appropriate experience and training, all ensured that the continuation schools could never really take off. In any case they became immediate victims of the 'Geddes Axe' economies which followed the slump of 1921. The reduction of government education grants to local authorities persuaded most of them to drop the continuation school project. A few persisted for some years, mainly London authorities, West Ham being the last. Further economic troubles, especially from 1929 onwards, made it unlikely that the continuation schools would reappear, even though their existence might have eased the impact of youth unemployment during the inter-war years. Only one local authority, the 'excepted district' of Rugby in Warwickshire, maintained its continuation school throughout the period. This led a rather listless existence on the premises of the Rugby College of Technology, until it was absorbed in the 1960s into the College of Further Education.

Had the continuation school project been better designed and properly funded, it is possible that by the Second World War, Britain would have had a comprehensive system of continuing education, 'vocational' and 'non-vocational', feeding in to higher education much larger numbers of broadly educated young people. But further education remained almost wholly unreconstructed. It remained essentially a poorly supplied part-time service for part-time students. In 1938 there were in England and Wales fewer than 50,000 full-time students in post-school colleges and other institutions, mainly vocational (other than universities and university colleges, in which there were about 80,000). There were in all 'grant-aided establishments' about 1.2 million students, equivalent to one-fifth of the elementary-school population,[2] most of them in evening classes.

There was clearly no pressing demand for large numbers of full-time further education teachers and certainly no pressure for improved facilities and opportunities for their training. There was little professional interest on the part of official bodies or educationists generally in further and technical education at all. The period between 1919 and 1939 produced a spate of studies and Departmental committee reports on secondary and primary education, some like the Hadow and Spens reports developing concepts and making recommendations of a quite radical nature, very influential in the designing of the 1944 Education Act. There was no such attention given to further education. The only report of any significance during the period was that of the Atholl Committee of 1928, dealing with a prospective regionalizing of examinations in further education, promptly shelved and then totally forgotten.[3] Higher technological education engaged the attention of the Percy Committee, appointed by R. A. Butler during the war, which did not report until after the 1944 Act was on the statute book.

Adult education under the local education authorities languished between the wars. Apart from the regularization in 1924 of the principle of grant aid to 'Responsible Body' work, mainly that of University Tutorial and Workers' Educational Association classes, and the development of the Cambridgeshire 'village college' idea, there was little improvement or expansion of the service during the whole twenty years.

Like the rest of the further education system, the City and Guilds Institute lapsed into semi-coma after the war. Between 1914 and 1918 the number of entries for its examinations fell from 14,570 to 7,405. This is only partly explained by the slaughter of young men in the war; the Institute's examinations were themselves a casualty in its own war with the Board of Education. Following the publication of Circular 776 on *Science Examinations and Grouped Course Certificates*, by which the Board's own examinations (the former examinations of the Science and Art Department) were abolished, there were systematic moves by the inspectorate, led by Pullinger, to persuade the technical teaching institutions to discard all the 'external' examinations on which they had so far almost completely relied for the design of their courses, and to do their own examining under some kind of moderating control of the HMIs themselves.

A quite unexpected result of Circular 776 was a vigorous growth in the demand for alternative external examinations. In the East Midlands region, an examining body was formed (the East Midlands Educational Union) which took on a programme of examinations directly and unambiguously copied from the now discarded Science Examination programme. It and the other established regional unions, all with rising rolls of examination entries, began between them a campaign of resistance to the inspectors' proposals.

Pullinger seems to have been less concerned about the expansion of the regional unions than about the control exercised by the City and Guilds over the main field of technical examining. It was a private body, not amenable to the authority of the inspectorate at the Board of Education. The regional unions at least were accessible to the Board, even if they were, to begin with, rather disobedient, and not at all convinced about the virtues of teacher-centred examining. They had, however, begun developing coherent 'grouped courses', that is certificate programmes requiring candidates to satisfy the examiners in groups of cognate subjects—for example, mechanical engineering, engineering science and technical drawing. Particularly innovative was the ULCI, but by 1913 even the EMEU, the least regarded of the unions, reported 305 entries for 'grouped course' certificates as compared with 1,733 entries for the main run of single subjects.[4]

The principle of teacher-centred 'grouped-course examinations', would doubtless have made much greater headway had the teachers themselves been sufficiently trained to take on the sophisticated job of examining, but neither Pullinger nor anyone else at the centre had any real understanding of the techniques required, nor any plans to have the teachers trained for the purpose. The number of full-time teachers was very small anyway, and few of these had received any suitable training.

As a result of these often conflicting pressures, the Board directed most of its criticism of external examining against the CGLI, whose list consisted almost entirely of single-subject technical examination topics, little attention having been given by the Institute so far to the grouped-course idea. Some examinations were supervised by an advisory committee; many were not. There was virtually no teacher representation on any of the committees. Sometimes making unscrupulous use of apparent support from the regional unions—which in fact and on the whole remained reasonably loyal to the Institute—Pullinger forced the CGLI into a predicament where its Technology Committee seriously considered pulling out of the examining business altogether. At a fateful meeting in December, 1918, the chairman of the committee, put before his colleagues three dire choices: abandonment of all lower-grade examinations in England and Wales only; complete abandonment of the lower grade examinations; or abandonment of the whole of the work of the Technology Department, that is a total withdrawal from examining. These were all unwelcome, for a reduction of examining activities meant a serious loss of revenue.[5] But by stratagem, delays, division among its own people, the Institute had between 1915 and 1918 been driven into this predicament by the Board. A decision was reached at a fraught meeting of the Technology Committee in January 1919, to accept an agreement worked out with the Board, for the Institute to continue examining, in the main, only at the 'Final' level, and this recommendation was accepted by the Institute's executive committee.[6]

Thus, on this thread, hung the continued involvement of the CGLI in the examination business, for the Institute's role as a premier examining body was never again to be seriously questioned. In retrospect, the most remarkable thing about the agreement between the Board and the Institute was its pointlessness. Circular 776 had announced a policy of discouraging external examinations. The 1918 agreement was thought of by the inspectors as an important stage in the process of dismantling the external system but their policy was almost wholly without results. It was shown by subsequent events to form no part of a national plan for educational reconstruction. It served, perhaps, as a background for the creation, from 1921, of the 'National Certificate' system of technician education, a process that did bring teachers right into the examining business.[7]

After the 1918 agreement not only did the Institute continue as the country's main technical examining body, in little more than ten years it recovered most of its 'Intermediate' examinations, after fairly comprehensive demonstration that the regional unions could not cope with the colleges' demands. Nor did the certificates issued by the latter command the prestige that by now attached to 'City and Guilds'. Plans outlined in the Atholl Committee report of 1928, for a completely regional network in which the Institute had no part, came to nought. Quietly and effectively, the Institute spent the years from 1919 to 1939 consolidating for itself the function that it still largely fulfills, that of custodian of craft skills testing and examining in England and Wales.

Still, further education remained the educational under-dog. The principle of a statutorily directed and funded system of 'continuative education' was totally lost. There was no major development in the technical education field at either ordinary or advanced levels of work. As Stephen Cotgrove explains it, 'the characteristic feature of further technical education in Britain [remained] its predominant part-time nature—mostly in the evenings. A student body of some 22,000 day-students in 1921, rose to 40,100 in 1937; of these about 3 in 10 were full-time students, the rest "day-release".' The part-time evening students numbered 867,000 and 1,049,000 in 1921 and 1937 respectively. Day work accounted for 2.1 per cent of all the work of technical colleges in 1921, and still only 3.7 per cent in 1937.[8] 'If population changes are taken into account, the increase [of enrolments] between 1911 and 1939 was very small indeed,' says Cotgrove; 'an increase of only 1.4 per cent in the number of enrolments as expressed as a percentage of the 15–24 age group.'

The number of major technological institutions was also very small indeed,[9] with only Imperial College and Manchester College of Technology in the international league. The engineering departments of the universities remained quite small, too. In London the nine 'polytechnics', now had viable departments of higher technological studies, their students usually preparing for London University external degrees; some of the other big towns had large colleges with similar facilities, for example, Liverpool, Bradford, Salford, Birmingham, Leicester, Portsmouth and Leeds—though here too the great bulk of the colleges' work was in lower-level courses.

The pattern of staffing reflected this same under-dog status. The relatively few full-time teachers in further education in the inter-war years did most of their work during the day, leaving the place clear for the part-time teachers coming in for their two- and three-hour evening stints. The teaching force was not only largely part-time and untrained for the job, it was quite isolated. Many, especially those teaching conventional subjects such as English, foreign languages, and much of the mathematics and science, were elementary- and grammar-school teachers, perhaps as many as a third of the whole group; the others, practitioners from almost every conceivable occupation, remained quite innocent of pedagogic instruction other than that gleaned from other teachers in passing and from the occasional more conscientious than usual head of department.

The Board, HMIs and principals of colleges remained, generally speaking, adamantly opposed to any notion of imposing a minimum standard of qualification, technical or pedagogic, because of well-founded fears that they might not be able to recruit suitable staff; teachers and institutions remained faithful to the 19th-century belief that it did not matter, for the quality of teaching would come out in 'the results'—the further-education curriculum being almost wholly governed by the requirements of 'external' examination, that is, syllabuses prescribed by CGLI, RSA, London Chamber of Commerce, dozens of 'professional bodies'[10] and, of course, the regional unions. Colleges and teachers alike were quite content to submit their students to the arbitrament of such examination. The teachers were incompetent to examine and had little desire or opportunity to equip themselves to do so. The experience being gained by those few involved in National and Higher National Certificate work, which required the teachers to set and mark examinations under 'assessment' or 'moderation', was not widely shared through the profession.[11] No-one had any money to spare for staff training. In this, further education remained for these years unattractive to talented and enthusiastic teachers. There was little talk of further education teacher training. The City and Guilds Institute produced no advance on its pre-war initiatives in this direction, and such a venture would almost certainly have been unwelcome to the Board of Education.

The Board did continue to recognize the CGLI manual training certificate and also the domestic subjects teachers' certificates. The majority of manual training teachers seeking certification were elementary-school staff who needed qualification to teach woodwork and metalwork in the schools where, although they retained a fairly lowly status in the curriculum, more of these subjects was being taught. Training for the manual skills was still in short supply in the men's training colleges; and it was to supplement and improve the supply that the City and Guilds had been brought into the system in the first place. Limited official recognition was given to the CGLI's certificates which, very strictly, were not to be regarded as comparable in any way with the Board of Education's teachers' certificates. In the Institute's programme for 1923/24, this guarded recognition was expressed thus:

> With a view to enabling Handicraft teachers to obtain the status and rank of Certificated Teachers (although not of college-trained Certificated Teachers), the Board of Education has agreed to recognise the First and

> Second Handicraft Examinations conducted by the City and Guilds of London Institute upon the following syllabuses.... [12]

Until this time the Board itself had continued the examination of prospective elementary schoolteachers, either at the end of their college courses or as 'non-collegiate' candidates in certain circumstances. In 1925 the Board divested itself of all examining functions, confining itself now to the approval of courses and endorsement of the certificates awarded by 'responsible academic bodies'. Thus began the approach to the present system.

The City and Guilds teachers' examinations could never aspire to the status of full certificate examinations and continued as long as they did because they filled gaps in the system of provision left by the Board and the recognized bodies. Some of these gaps were beginning to be filled, with training colleges taking more cognizance of the handicraft skills, but still only for those entering for the full two years of teacher training. A new approach was set by Loughborough College in 1932 and the Leeds City Training College, which began to make provision for mature entrants with suitable experience behind them.

For the qualified schoolteachers (together with certain categories of preparing and unqualified teachers), the Scheme A route to the City and Guilds manual teacher's certificate had the character of a post-training additional qualification, though it was never formally 'endorsed' as such by the Board. The local authorities were to regard it as highly desirable when making appointments of teachers of woodwork and metalwork; and the standards of technical competence aimed at in the Institute's examination scheme were ambitiously high. In Scheme B, designed for entrants to the certificate programme from outside the teaching profession, standards were equally high and the slaughter was correspondingly great. (The main difference between the two schemes, as in the 1890s, was that those entering under A were excused all or some of the more general educational requirements and in particular the examination in English Composition. Scheme B entrants took the lot.)

From 1923 onwards the term 'manual' was dropped in favour of 'handicraft' (now dissociated from paper-work, clay modelling and so on, though it is interesting to note that under the new scheme of 1928, hand-crafts reappeared in the shape of bookbinding, woodcarving and the like). With various modifications as conditions changed, the scheme of examination for the Teacher's Certificate in Handicraft of the Institute remained until 1973. There were two examinations, the First Handicraft Examination in which the emphasis was on background skills, English, drawing, some mathematics and practical woodwork or metalwork; and the second in which, in addition to a rigorous four-hour practical examination, were papers in associated technology, science and mathematics, and also in 1928 a sophisticated paper for those who required it in Science Handicraft, essentially what would be called today laboratory technician's work. At the same time was added a paper in the Principles of Teaching, the first overt reference in the programme to the actual art of pedagogy.[13]

Over the period conditions and regulations became more complicated, as the Institute sought to cope with two important developments outside its control: first, significant changes in the types of candidates entering for the handicraft teacher's certificate examination, and secondly, changing attitudes on the part of the Board of Education to the training needs of teachers, especially in the light of the new ideas about the content and balance of the curriculum and school reorganization and development. These were the years of Hadow, the new 'central schools' and 'technical schools'. The 'secondary modern' was not yet invented, but its essential form was in being. The 'grammar schools' too were increasingly setting up woodwork and metalwork rooms, though generally their woodwork and metalwork classes were not recruited from among the brighter boys. All these changes were reflected in the attitudes of HMI towards the Institute (whose committees they advised), for CGLI remained for the entire period the main supplier of handicraft skills qualifications.

Scheme B was originally introduced to cater for those men who had proven skills in woodwork or metalwork, who had probably already passed Institute examinations in cabinet-making, carpentry and joinery, or one of the metal-working trades, and who wanted to teach elementary skills to schoolboys. The Institute's statistics are not easy to search for definite indications of trends, partly because of changes in presentation, and partly owing to alterations in conditions of entry, changes of syllabus and complicated variations in the exemptions that could be claimed. However, a reasonably coherent series of statistics can be derived for the period 1919 to 1939, and this is presented in the Appendix (Table 2).

To discuss the statistics in detail, but in separation from the text of annual reports themselves, would render the picture beyond comprehension. Various conclusions may, nevertheless, be drawn. There was a continuing and generally rising demand for the Institute's examinations in handicraft until 1939. Within this broad trend there was an explosion of demand, especially at the first-year level, in the period 1929–34, almost certainly a seeking by unemployed craftsmen to improve their qualifications with a prospect of entering teaching. There was a consistently high rate of failure; this was very probably due to the imposition of the entry requirement at the first-examination level of a pass in the Board of Education Preliminary examination, a low level examination mainly in English and Arithmetic set for intending teachers. Between 1923 and 1928 the Institute seems to have discarded its own examination in English Composition, set for Scheme B entrants from the start, in favour of the Board's Preliminary. When the Board dropped this as well as its other examinations in 1925, the Institute had to reintroduce the English examination for first-year candidates. It did so in 1928, now as a full English test, including preparation of 'set books' (Reade's *Cloister and the Hearth*, Hudson's *Shepherd's Calendar*, William Morris's *Hopes and Fears*, Ruskin's *The Nature of Gothic* and a *King's Treasury* selection). The First Examination now included also an arithmetic paper. Candidates holding a suitable 'first school examination' certificate, and certificated and uncertificated teachers were exempt from these requirements.[14]

The failures in the 1929 First Examination on account of English and arithmetic were devastating. Of the 934 who entered for the whole examination, only 188 passed. According to the examiners 'It was evident that many of the candidates who entered had not realised the standard of knowledge in English and Arithmetic that must be required of anyone who aspires to teach in public elementary schools. [Yet] it cannot be said that the standard demanded was too high.'[15]

The numbers of candidates who took and succeeded in the whole examination at each stage seem to have been a minority. In 1929, of the 619 who entered for all parts of the Second Examination, 109 satisfied the requirements for the handicraft teacher's certificate, and thus became qualified to act as handicraft instructors in public elementary schools. Of these 34 were already certificated teachers; hence there were only 75 newly certificated teachers of handicraft, It is interesting that the term 'instructors' was now being used; in earlier reports, the Institute usually spoke of 'teachers'. Doubtless this reflected the growing sensitivity to the Inspectorate's views on entry to the teaching profession by the vocational back-door. These were still times when the 'vocational' as distinct from the general cultural, was regarded by the Board and the inspectors (still mainly university graduates) as an undesirable emphasis in the school curriculum.

It is clear that the Institute believed itself to be providing a valuable alternative route into teaching. 'The examinations appear, therefore,' it was reported in 1930, 'to be mainly taken by candidates whose previous trade experience should prove of distinct value in the handicraft rooms of the schools of the country.' In the report for 1932 the argument was put in a different way: 'The Handicraft Examinations of the Institute as a whole, while largely acting as a channel for the entry of skilled artisans to the schools, also serve the double purpose of providing an additional qualification in handicraft to teachers who have not been so qualified.'[16] A census of the candidates who entered for the 1930 First examination, showed that 'over one-half were Carpenters, Joiners, Wood-carvers, Cabinet-makers, Pattern-makers or [were] following one or other of the Engineering Trades such as Fitting and Turning, Shipwright's Work, Toolmaking etc. Rather over one quarter were Teachers (Certificated or Uncertificated), Handicraft Instructors, or Civilian Instructors of various kinds.'[17]

All those aspiring to be qualified instructors had to undertake a period of practical teaching and pass the examination in principles of teaching.

There were no precise regulations for the paper governing the acquisition of pedagogic knowledge and experience other than the minimum of six months' teaching, nor was there provision for any assessment of teaching practice. The syllabus was quite wide-ranging, with strong emphasis on the practicalities of the classroom, and the essentials of class order and the effective teaching of 'craftsmanship'. Particularly recommended for reading was the Board's *Handbook of Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers*. 'For the general principles of teaching one of the manuals in use in Training Colleges should be consulted,' the syllabus concluded, not all that helpfully. The three-hour paper was usually a model of succinctness; candidates had to answer up to six questions from a limited choice of nine. A not untypical example of 1937 reads: '"His fingers are all thumbs." What can be done for a boy of this sort in the Handicraft room?'[18]

Examiners' reports on the quality of work included common complaints of poor verbal and arithmetical performance. On the other hand there does often seem to have been genuine surprise at the high quality of response in the Principles paper. 'The best papers were extremely good,' comments the examiner in 1929, first time round, 'and those below the very best were full, thoughtful and sound.... The chief defects were a want of arrangement in the answers, and a tendency to avoid the exact point of the question.'[19] (The examiner for English in 1937 was the former HMI, F. H. Spencer, whose book *An Inspector's Testament* is one of the most revelatory studies of further education before and after the First World War.)

A perennial worry was the extent of recognition that the Board would allow to teachers qualified under the handicraft teachers examination, and the Institute dithered over whether the certificate-holders should be referred to as 'teachers' or 'instructors'. Generally throughout the two decades holders of First Examination certificates were allowed to practice as temporary teachers. The grade carried no status, and in 1935 the concession was withdrawn from those who had not passed also the Group A subjects of the Second Examination. By agreement, the Board allowed final certificate holders to be classed as certificated teachers but not as college trained teachers. The 1928 revised scheme allowed local education authorities to employ such uncertificated teachers in public elementary schools for subjects other than handicraft. This boost in status was reflected in the substantial widening and toughening of the examination by the 1928 revision. A concession was gained in 1937, when amendments to the Burnham reports on 'Scales of Salaries in Secondary Schools and Technical and Art Schools' allowed holders of certificates gained in Second Teachers' Handicraft Examinations in two handicrafts (woodwork and metalwork) to claim these successes as part-time qualifications towards obtaining graduate status for the purposes of salary.[20]

Thus, during the years between 1919 and 1939 the Institute became deeply embedded in the teacher qualification business, serving as the Board of Education's officially approved examining and awarding body in the matter of handicraft teacher education. Its speciality was the induction of older students with industrial and trade backgrounds into the ranks of elementary schoolteachers. When the Shoreditch and Loughborough Colleges entered the field, preparing students specifically for the teaching of crafts,[21] they began accepting for shortened courses students with CGLI Second Handicraft Examination qualifications, and ran themselves a concentrated one-year course for students wishing to take the Institute's examinations, 'with a view either to qualifying as Teachers of Handicraft or to qualifying for admission to an advanced course in Handicraft at a training college'.[22]

The Institute's only effort in the direction of training teachers for technical education as such was the examination scheme for Teachers of Domestic Subjects (initially and illogically restricted to dressmaking, needlework and millinery), which continued to run with reducing entries during the war.[23] Then the list of subjects in which women could be examined for teachers' certificates began to grow until by 1939, there were eight subjects in the list of Women's Subjects, Section 4 of the programme, numbers 140 to 147, including Hand Embroidery and Machine Embroidery, Dressmaking, Millinery, Needlework, Ladies' and Children's Plain Tailoring, Plain Cookery and Housecraft. Teachers'

Certificates could be gained for tested teaching skills in all but the Embroidery subjects, and also in Home Upholstery.

This multiplication of 'women's subjects'—the gender association was quite explicit, with the pronouns 'she' and 'her' used throughout the programme text, just as male terms were used in handicraft—represents on the one hand a considerable extension of the Institute's examining work for mainly non-industrial part-time adult education classes and on the other an attempt by the Institute to ameliorate the shortage of teachers for evening classes run mainly by local authorities. While the original approaches for the creation of domestic subjects teachers' certificates had come from the Board of Education, the Board had not in the end come through with the measures of recognition that had been intended by Abney in 1902. Although agreement was reached on the recognition of the original 'Group A' of teachers' certificate subjects, plain cookery, laundry work and home management, the agreement was never ratified, and these teachers' certificate programmes did not run before the war. Those in Group B, plain needlework, dressmaking and millinery did, the award entitling holders be considered for teaching in evening classes only. The Board of Education solved its problems of obtaining teachers for its elementary-school classes in its own ad hoc ways. The Institute was never exactly involved in staffing schools with cookery teachers as it was with certificating school handicraft teachers.

At the beginning of the Second World War, the City and Guilds was examining women for teachers' certificates in six subjects. Five were dealt with under one main set of provisions for Teachers' Certificates in Domestic Subjects, for some years with no specific provisos as to where holders might be allowed to teach, though later referring to 'instruction in Continuation and Technical Classes'. The Part-time Teacher's Certificate in Cookery, run separately, was intended for 'teachers to give instruction in Cookery in part-time classes'. There was no question of their being officially regarded as eligible to teach in schools, at least in terms of those competencies certificated by the City and Guilds.[24]

Numbers going through all these schemes remained small. The total entry for the three subject areas in 1919 was a mere 24. In 1929 when ladies' and children's tailoring were included for the first time, the entire total was 123. The new subject attracted 11 candidates. 1936 may be regarded as the peak year of the Institute's activities in this field, when there was an entry of 242 for the domestic subjects teacher's certificate, now including three candidates for home upholstery. There were also 67 candidates for the Part-time Teacher's certificate in cookery, the examination for which was held for the first time in 1932, a grand total of 309. By 1939 the whole enterprise was on the decline again, with a total of 285 and domestic subjects down to 208.[25]

The Institute, nevertheless, stuck to the scheme and with further modifications it lasted until the setting up of the technical teacher's certificate scheme in the 1950s. After a number of internal modifications, from 1931 onwards candidates had to be examined in the six elements of the programme as a whole, a simpler, more coherent and pedagogically satisfactory scheme than the handicraft teacher's certificate programme had ever been.[26] Though modified in detail at various times, the six basic examination requirements were organized in two parts. Part 1 comprised a written paper of three hours on Methods of Teaching; a test in work on the blackboard; and a practical test of teaching, assessed by an examiner appointed by the Institute. Part 2 required a three-hour paper on the technology of the chosen subject; a practical test of workmanship; and examples of the candidate's home and class work.[27]

To qualify for entry students had to attend appropriate registered 'Teacher Training Classes' under 'some public authority', during either one or two years, but attending a course of a minimum of 250 hours of instruction in the case of needlework, dressmaking and ladies' and children's tailoring, or 170 hours in the case of millinery. There were provisos for the admission of people with 'trade experience', which had to include evidence of a four-year apprenticeship, and for already serving teachers of domestic subjects. These in each year comprised a substantial proportion of the entry.

A candidate had to provide evidence of having conducted 'five demonstration lessons during which she was entirely responsible for the teaching of the class', supervised and certified by the 'instructress of the registered training class or her superior'. Alternative arrangements were made for those with teaching experience. The crucial Practical Test in Teaching, lasting at least three-quarters of an hour, had to be given by arrangement at a chosen centre before an examiner appointed by the CGLI. There must be a minimum of five pupils, who should not include intending candidates for the teacher's certificate examination. Also, on behalf of each candidate, a suitable person either in the school or appointed by the local authority should supply an authenticated rating to the Institute on the candidate's performance as a whole in practice teaching, graded on a four-point scale.[28]

The arrangements for the submission and inspection of previous work, and the actual practical examination were quite detailed and demanding. The blackboard test, for instance, would last two hours. The section on methods of teaching was based on a simple syllabus of five items: the outlining of lessons, with illustrations, suitable for classes of children and adults; the arrangements and equipment of class-rooms; the management of classes, use of blackboards and note-books and of diagrams; the scope and preparation of courses and syllabuses of lessons; the principles of class teaching applied to practical subjects; the methods of stimulating observation, enquiry and self-reliance in pupils.[29] The examination papers for this section had the same quality of practical relevance. Five questions were to be answered out of eight, a typical example from 1926 being: 'We learn by a process of being told about it, by seeing it done, and by doing it ourselves. Show how each of these methods should be employed and estimate the relative value of each.'[30] Failure rate for the whole examination fluctuated, but averaged about 30 per cent.[31]

Nowadays it is generally recognized that a written examination paper is not necessarily an effective way of testing ability to testing a complex practical skill. The method is no longer used by the City and Guilds Institute nor by most of the agencies involved in the training and testing of teachers. The Institute, however, had little choice or experience in doing anything else. The examination of teachers of handicraft evolved piecemeal, either in anticipation of or in response to requirements of the

Board of Education; it was never very coherent or logical. The examination of teachers in domestic subjects, because it was less tied to the ostensible requirements of the Board, was thus able to adapt to the Institute's own conceptions. There was in existence from the start an Institute advisory committee for the domestic subjects, able to steer developments in a reasonably systematic way, whereas the advisory committee for handicrafts was not formed until 1932.

From quite early on, the domestic subjects teacher's certificate scheme had involved schools, colleges and local authorities in the examination arrangements in ways which anticipated developments after the Second World War. The provision of teaching practice facilities and supervision was not possible without direct co-operation, and this seems to have been a condition of recognition of courses for the purposes of the certificate. Co-operation was also required in the setting up of practical tests of teaching. For the 1923 examination, when thirty-six candidates were examined in practical teaching, the tests were conducted 'in the presence of the Institute's Examiner at Blackburn, Burnley, Salford, Walsall, Sunderland, West Ham and Woolwich'. In 1932 no fewer than thirty-two centres were used. A team of at least six examiners was usually employed by the Institute; though, in 1932/33 there were ten.[32]

While the Institute could not be regarded during the years between the wars as a major agency for the training and certification of teachers, it was, nevertheless, deeply involved. It could also claim to be the only body of any standing in the country at this time concerned with the training of teachers for further education. Its major programme, that of providing certificates in the teaching of handicraft was not strictly to do with further education, but it was the Institute's direct responsibility for examinations in craft subjects, wholly a matter of post-school education, that caused the Board of Education to turn to it. It was this programme that uniquely served to bring into school-teaching a breed of teachers whose basic experience was that of craftsmen and artisans. Quite a lot of the teachers trained under the domestic subjects teachers' programme also landed up in schools, but not through any express intention on the part of the Board. Most of those trained on the programme remained part-time teachers in evening classes; and thus, the Institute made a start on training teachers for further education. Technical teachers as such still remained right out in the cold.

In the years after the Second World War the Institute went into further education teacher training in a much bigger way, again following express approaches from the Ministry of Education. All the Institute's ventures into teacher education were the outcome of similar official approaches but this did not prevent department, board or ministry officials, HM Inspectors, local authority officers or the entire teacher training establishment, including the technical teachers' colleges which were eventually set up, from looking down their noses at the City and Guilds programmes, at every stage of the story.

4

Post-War: Technical Teacher Education launched

The City and Guilds Institute's Handicraft Teacher's certificate examinations continued for more than twenty-five years after the Second World War, but they never again flourished as in the mid 1930s. Numbers entering for both levels of the examinations fell off, from a total of 1,998 candidates in 1929 to 381 in 1943; they picked up again in 1945 to 911. There was a similar fall in the Domestic Subjects Teacher's certificate examinations from 183 in 1939 to 89 in 1943, rising again to 180 in 1945.

There was a dip in the total number of entries for the Institute's examinations during the war, the lowest point being 1941 when there were only 16,430 candidates as compared with 40,345 in 1939; recovery began almost immediately, so that by 1945 there were nearly 32,000 candidates. Some of this vigorous activity represented the interest of the armed services in technological skills for members of such technical corps as the RAOC, RASC and, REME, but it also indicated the attitude of government and industry towards the maintenance and development of industrial skills for the prosecution of the war. Some of the enthusiasm generated by this kind of war-winning had its effect on attitudes towards education and training after the war.

The Institute surpassed its 1939 figure for examination entries in 1947, doubling it by 1953 and trebling it by 1959. Entries for the handicraft examinations at both levels peaked at 1,856 in 1950, representing among other things the demand in schools for woodwork and metalwork teachers which was far from being met at this stage by the training colleges, including the emergency colleges. As improved facilities for the training of teachers of handicraft took effect in the colleges, notably at Loughborough and Leeds, the demand for CGLI trainees fell below

800 by the end of the decade and collapsed to 230 in 1966. It was now becoming evident that the Ministry would not indefinitely accept teachers of handicraft who had not taken the opportunity to become fully qualified teachers, and the Institute began arranging with selected colleges for those who had passed its First Examination and Section I of the Second Examination (the woodwork or metalwork examinations), to enter for a special one-year course of full-time training which would be concerned mostly with pedagogy and practice, at the end of which they would become fully qualified teachers.

According to the programme of 1967/68, the Institute explicitly sought by its scheme

> to increase the supply of teachers of handicraft, particularly in secondary schools, by providing a teaching qualification of high standard for (a) mature entrants to the teaching profession in England and Wales, including personnel from HM Forces and those holding a Full-Technological Certificate or having craft experience in industry, and (b) those wishing to teach handicraft in overseas territories. The examination may also be taken by qualified teachers who wish to obtain a qualification in handicraft, including those wishing to specialise in the teaching of handicapped children.[1]

In 1968 another revision was introduced, simplifying the arrangements somewhat. It was all in vain. In 1968 one candidate entered for the 'General' part of the new scheme, while thirty-one completed all or part of the old scheme. There was some increase in 1969 but in 1970 still only forty-two candidates took all or some of the examination.[2] The Institute decided that the time had come to close the scheme and in 1973 it disappeared from the programme.

Thus came to an end the Institute's first venture into teacher training, a programme which with many modifications, had run for nearly eighty years, an outcome of the endeavours particularly of Magnus to promote a significant shift in the curriculum of English schools, but which never quite got on the inside of establishment teacher training. The scheme's permanent status was that of an emergency or auxiliary programme, a reflection, among other things, of the traditional view of the 'vocational' in schooling as less worthy than the 'cultural' and 'moral'. The major merit of the City and Guilds' scheme in enabling considerable numbers of artisans and tradesmen to enter teaching was not, on the whole, regarded by the administrators and inspectors, nationally or locally, as being a particular merit at all; and although there was always a measure of Board and later Ministry representation on the Institute's committees concerned with the scheme, the official attitude tended to be condescending and rather grudging in approval of what was going on.

The handicraft teacher examination programmes brought the Institute into closer connection than had any other project with the mainstreams of English education. They also had the inestimable advantage of bringing its examiners, advisory teams and many actual teachers into familiar contact with teacher training as a process. Furthermore the 'teaching practice' of candidates on the handicrafts and domestic subjects course had to take the form of an actual job, generally at least six months of this in the year before taking the certificate. The huge success of the Institute's later technical-teacher schemes undoubtedly owed much to the direct contact that candidates have had with the job they were 'training' for. Eventually this 'in-service' mode was to achieve wider acceptability, and especially after the James Report of 1972.

A pre-war technical-teacher training plan

The only statement of any authority on the subject of technical-teacher training during the period 1919 to 1939 was a memorandum on the *Training of Technical Teachers* issued in 1938 by a joint committee appointed by ATI, APTI, ATTI and the British Association for Commercial and Industrial Education (BACIE). Its authorship was unattributed; there is no reference to it in the jubilee history of ATTI, and only the slightest mention in a similar publication of ATI.[3]

The system proposed in the memorandum was modest, and considering the times, not unrealistic. Conventional teacher training would, the authors considered, 'be of little value' because few candidates for technical teaching had this in mind at the beginning of their careers, coming as they did from industry or from part-time teaching posts and 'frequently through the avenue of part-time teaching posts'. Also, 'the work of technical teaching is extremely diverse', and 'it is important that the technical teacher-in-training should be provided with organised contact and discussion with technical teachers of experience.'

To cover these eventualities there would be a system which provided systematic opportunities for observing experienced teachers at work; required the new teacher ('he') to attend a month's special instruction some time during his first three years; and placed teachers on probation for the first year of service. To administer the scheme there should be a Director of Training, 'preferably an officer of the Board of Education'; since training would become obligatory teachers must be given leave of absence without loss of salary.

If such a proposal had met with favour (which it clearly did not) it would have needed considerable modification in the immediate post-war years, when the numbers eligible for such training expanded beyond anything envisaged by the authors of the report. As a result of all the new provision after 1945 there were still, twenty-five years later, nearly 50 per cent of full-time staff without formal teacher qualification.

Reform in the making

In the educational climate of the immediate post-war years, two developments in particular, one cultural and the other political, need to be mentioned. The first was the arrival of education as a prime issue of public concern, a subject of open discussion relatively unhampered, at last, by religious controversy, and as a respectable discipline in the universities. The second was the Education Act of 1944, passed, as a successful end to the war could now be anticipated, in a spirit of consensus unique in the history of our educational legislation, before or after.

During the 1930s, there were a number of investigations into the education system which piecemeal legislation had created in England. For the first time overall views were taken and the most notable studies, the three Hadow and the Spens reports, foreshadowed radical reform. People were beginning to understand the need for more investment in education, a raising of the school leaving age, abolition of the distinctions between 'elementary' and 'secondary', more opportunity and greater fairness in admission to higher education, a more satisfying curriculum in the schools. The war disrupted these trends and yet prompted more investigation—into the nature and purpose of school examinations (Norwood), teacher training (McNair) and technical education (Percy).

Equally significant was the emergence of education as a proper subject of professional and academic study. Educational research, measurement and doctrinal analysis were raised to levels previously unknown in this country. There was a great change in the content and emphases of training college curricula in the years after the war, and not always to the benefit of teachers in training. For a time the commonplaces of classroom management, the mundane subject matter of the *Handbook of Suggestions*, gave place to the much higher-toned topics of educational psychology and statistical analysis.

The Education Act defined three 'stages' of education—primary, secondary and further—and provided for a measure of integration between them (a requirement not found in earlier Acts). It also laid on local authorities the duty 'to secure the provision for their area of adequate facilities for further education, that is to say', in the notoriously odd wording of Section 41:

> (a) full-time and part-time education for persons over compulsory school age.
>
> (b) leisure-time occupation, in such organised cultural training and recreative facilities as are suited to their requirements, for any persons over compulsory school age who are able and willing to profit by the facilities provided for the purpose.

All local authorities were required to submit to the Ministry of Education, schemes of further education and by the end of the Labour government in 1951, the country had in being or was carrying through a further education programme grander and more comprehensive than anything before it.

The central legislated element was to have been the 'county colleges' intended as the main centres of post-school compulsory attendance for all those up to the age of eighteen not already in alternative schools or colleges. This was the 1944 revamp of the 1918 'day-continuation schools', but again not thoroughly thought out. Aspiration outran reality: shortage of resources and teachers, the reluctance of employers to release their young people militated against success. Yet even though the county colleges were forgotten, there was no return to the stagnation of the inter-war years.

Just before the 1944 Act reached the statute book, R. A. Butler appointed a high-powered committee under the chairmanship of Lord Eustace Percy, former President of the Board of Education, to investigate 'the needs of higher technological education in England and Wales' in the light of 'the requirements of Industry'.[4] Reporting in 1945, the committee noted that Britain had, for more than a century, under-rated vocational education. Although it confined itself to the future supply of scientific and managerial grades for industry, the Percy Committee set the frame for future development in vocational further education. For example, the government subsequently set up ten Regional Advisory Councils to co-ordinate development—in the first instance of higher technological courses, but ultimately all stages.

Since then there has been a proliferation of co-ordinating, regulating, advisory and awarding bodies, as well as a multiplication of colleges at all levels. A distinct pattern of regional, area and local colleges, had emerged by 1956.[5] (Most of the regional colleges subsequently became polytechnics; many of the area colleges became colleges of higher education, and the local colleges have themselves differentiated into a great variety of institutions, whether 'technical', 'further', 'tertiary' or something else again. The same sort of variegation occurred in evening institutes, too.)

Venables identified 681 'major establishments' of further education in

1946, and 5,078 evening institutes; ten years later there were 22 regional colleges, 731 area and local colleges, 9,119 evening institutes and 8 national colleges.[6] By 1980 the pattern in the public sector had changed to 30 polytechnics, 70 colleges and institutes of higher education; 500 other further education colleges and 5,300 evening institutes. These institutional changes have been designed to accommodate the hugely increased numbers of students with many different needs. There was in 1937/38 a further education student population of 1,176,772; this had risen to 2,239,416 in 1952/53. In the pre-war group only 12,712 were full-time students; in 1952 the full-timers had more than quadrupled to 57,192. Part-time day attendances increased seven-fold to 353,049, and although many technician and craft courses had switched to day time, as the result of more generous day-release by employers, evening enrolments too increased by a factor of 50 per cent, from 1,114,598 to 1,829,185.[7]

The teachers

The service continued to expand and diversify and one result was that by 1976 there were some 75,000 full-time teachers, and perhaps 130,000 part-timers (compared with 4,500 full-time teachers in 1946 and perhaps 50,000 part-time teachers). About 30 per cent of all teaching in further education is still done by part-time teachers; this proportion is certainly much less than in 1946, but the continued reliance on the work of a large number of part-time teachers has never shown much sign of abating.[8]

The years immediately after the war were a time of desperate shortage of all kinds of teachers, alleviated eventually by putting into schools 35,000 'emergency trained' ex-service and older teachers. Further education made unprecedented demands, to some extent in competition with the schools; it also required a still wider range of specialists. With the transfer of much vocational evening work to day time, there was need for part-time teachers in the day as well. While the contracts of full-time teachers usually required them to work up to two evenings a week with half-days off 'in lieu', the pressure was often so great that teachers undertook additional evening and sometimes day work too, for overtime pay.

The variety of subjects and skills to be taught also increased greatly. The new colleges spawned new courses, ranging through conventional group and single-subject courses leading to certificates of CGLI, RSA, National and Higher National Certificates, Regional Union examinations and professional bodies' examinations, on through school subject courses, General Certificate of Education 'O' and 'A' levels, to much greater provision of recreational courses of every description, foreign languages, craft activities, physical education, dancing, 'women's' subjects. During the early 1950s the practice developed of enriching technical courses with 'liberal studies', creating a huge demand for teachers of 'arts' subjects, which could be met only by employing part-time teachers, including schoolteachers, serving and retired, in addition to a new corps of mainly qualified full-time liberal studies teachers.

Many of the new colleges created under the local authorities' approved plans were all-through institutions, classes running continuously from nine in the morning to nine or nine-thirty at night. Evening institutes were usually crowded with students of all ages. There had never been a time when part-time teaching capability had been at such a premium. There was, as a result of all this expansion, a constant scavenging for part-time teachers of all kinds, with principals constantly fearful that their authorities might create conditions of employment and obligations for training that would prevent them from attracting staff.

The predicament of the part-time teacher is referred to with some feeling by Dr Venables in 1955:

> Part-time teaching staff make an indispensable contribution to the work of technical institutions, coming as they do from all walks of life, and particularly welcome are those with wide experience and holding positions of responsibility in industry and commerce. With few exceptions the salaries offered do not attract them, for these are usually subject to the full impact of income tax; mostly the teachers come from a genuine interest in the work and often because they are former students of the college. Their

> salaries are determined solely by the local authorities, though often after consultation with neighbouring authorities. National negotiation of part-time salaries remains remote, but there are good reasons for establishing appropriate means of negotiation between representatives of the authorities and of the teachers on a regional basis.[9]

Not conveyed in this analysis is the sheer difficulty, hardship, discouragement, even squalor that many part-time teachers at this time had to endure. Often they taught in temporary premises or school classrooms sometimes organized under an 'evening head'. The heating was apt to be turned off well before the class finished, and departure at the end of the lesson was often unceremonious, as the caretaker made his wishes only too obvious. There were always problems in such accommodation of disturbing equipment or materials left by the day-time teachers, whose claims were deemed to have priority.

Part-time teachers in these conditions were far better off than those who taught in rooms hired from church, chapel, the British Legion, or parish councils. Here the heating might be primitive or non-existent. Basic teaching equipment would probably be lacking and the teacher would have to scrounge around to get blackboard installed and chalk supplied. Sometimes there would be 'break' facilities of a primitive kind; but the usual view of the local authority was that breaks should not be allowed, since they cut into the actual 'contact time' for which the teacher was being paid. Teachers in these conditions were often isolated from help and guidance.

Isolation was in fact, a major handicap. One consequence of expansion in the day-time establishment after the war was that principals, heads of departments, senior staff and most of the general teaching staff did most of their work during the day, and unless this happened to be their 'evening on' they would have little communication with part-time evening colleagues.There was in many institutions a complete gap between the two groups.

The physical and administrative keeping of attendance registers was a great bugbear for part-time staff. They were essential for the totting of 'student hours', a mystery understood by few and seldom explained to part-time teachers, but which had to do with the college's funding. The state of the registers was usually appalling—attendances and absences incorrectly entered, faulty totals, messed-up pages. The entire disappearance of the register was not uncommon. That suggests a scenario of disorganization verging on chaos, but more usually heads of department and some senior staff did wonders of management in very depressing conditions. Some took a great deal of trouble to visit, consult with and generally treat their full-time and part-time staff with care and consideration. Keeping part-time staff informed about college developments, familiarizing them with special syllabus and examination requirements, arranging for examination entries at the right time, were formidable jobs, often surprisingly well accomplished.

Mood and atmosphere varied from institution to institution, but even in the best of colleges the attitude was that the part-timers were 'outsiders'. Some colleges with a vigorous staff association did what they could to bring part-time colleagues into their social gatherings, though with limited success. Many institutions invited part-time staff at the beginning of session to an elementary briefing, some formal induction and a little social mixing, again not always very successfully.

Pay for part-time teachers was a matter for local determination. In due course agreement between neighbouring authorities over pay-scales became a major item of business on the agendas of the regional advisory councils. The ATTI from time to time sought to get some order into the system, but few of its activists and officers were part-time teachers; occasional attempts by branches to recruit part-timers were not remarkably successful. By 1956 the membership of ATTI had reached 6,255 when the total teaching force of full-time teachers was 12,477. It is not known how many of the association's members were part-timers, but it is very unlikely to have been more than 20 per cent.[10] The Confederation of Continuative Teachers continued in existence at this time, but there is little evidence that it was ever able to accomplish much.

Training for full-time technical teachers

As the post-war ferment reached its height, the first positive steps were taken to provide training for part-time teachers. Since provision for part-timers followed in the wake of training for full-timers, it is necessary to look at that as background.

Moves to do something about full-time technical teachers began with the report of the committee appointed in 1942 by the Board of Education, under the chairmanship of Sir Arnold McNair, to investigate and make recommendations on the supply and training of teachers and youth leaders. In 1944 the committee produced its recommendations on the anticipated post-war shortage of teachers and on the reorganization of teacher training generally. Here for the first time an official body tackled the problem of training for technical education—even though the committee was more concerned with teachers for secondary technical schools than with teachers for technical colleges proper.

The essential problem with the training of technical teachers is that a conventional academic education followed by a conventional teacher-training is no preparation. Their training in pedagogy should take place at the time of transfer from a previous career into further education work, or subsequently and 'on-the-job'. The teacher-training 'establishment', in the colleges and the universities, could hardly have been expected to legislate for so unorthodox a mode of training. Earlier the Board of Education had encountered a variant of the problem, that is getting into school teaching experienced practitioners of such handwork skills and 'domestic subjects'. The Board stumbled along for many years trying to dodge the main implication: that there had to be a means by which individuals with trade skills, and consequently older, could be enabled to train as teachers. It relied on the brave efforts of the City and Guilds Institute to procure suitably experienced people, whilst remaining suspicious of these late entrants and and refusing to give them full recognition as teachers.

Secondary or 'junior' technical schools had come into existence as the result of no explicit policy. McNair noted that so far there had been no courses of professional training for teachers in such schools and that something should be done about it. The report declared that the training 'or at any rate the major part of it', should be undertaken after, rather than before the teachers had entered the work. Accordingly, 'the area training authorities should report at frequent intervals to the Board of Education, so that systematic courses of training for technical teachers may be provided and recognised.'[11]

In 1945 the Bolton local education authority founded the first official establishment specifically for the training of technical teachers. The moving spirit behind this was A. J. Jenkinson, a senior member of the Education Department of the University of Manchester; though not a technical specialist himself, he was an enthusiast for technical education and an advocate of more vocationally biased elements in the school curriculum generally. With Jenkinson as director, the Bolton Teachers' College, housed in the Bolton Technical College (later Institute of Technology) offered one-year courses for mature students, non-graduates with specialist qualifications and graduates who wished to teach in technical colleges and schools. Applicants had to be 25 or over and courses were grouped with reference to the teaching of building subjects, engineering, mining, commerce, bakery and confectionery, science and textiles. Main course subjects included education and educational history, English, educational method and resources; there were special method lectures associated with the different subjects, and trainees undertook two periods of supervised and assessed teaching practice amounting to twelve weeks in all. The Technical Teacher's Certificate examination was moderated and the award made by the University of Manchester. The certificate did not qualify its holder to teach in schools, and since there was no status of 'qualified' teacher in technical education, it did not rank with Ministry-approved teachers' certificates.

A second technical-teacher training programme was opened in September 1946 at the North Western Polytechnic in London, later moving to New Cross as Garnett College under the principalship of C. Jameson; and yet another at Huddersfield in January 1947, under Alexander McLennan. All three principals of these new colleges made their own marks on technical-teacher education. The most influential of their extra-mural promotions was the journal the *Vocational Aspect of Secondary and Further Education*, launched in 1951 with the three as joint editors. The idea came mainly from Jenkinson, a scholar of repute, who remained de facto editor for some years, even after he had relinquished the directorship of the Bolton College.

Between 1946 and 1954 the three colleges[12] trained over 2,000 teachers. They covered a range of twelve special subject areas, including in addition to those at Bolton already mentioned, catering, painting and decorating, printing and 'women's trades'. There was a small contingent of 'other' teachers, probably mainly postgraduates who had elected to do their 'training year' at a technical-teacher college rather than in a conventional university course, where almost certainly there would have been little mention of further education. One attractive option introduced by the new colleges was training to teach 'liberal studies', rapidly coming into vogue at this time across the further education system.

Fully one third of the technical teachers produced went into schools, not only secondary technical schools but grammar and secondary modern. Venables commented that the colleges appeared 'to be fulfilling a need in secondary education which has not been met by the two-year teacher training colleges, and it is questionable whether these can meet it in terms of training men and women with that previous industrial experience so desirable for teachers in these particular schools and courses'.[13] This preference is all the more interesting since the new college certificate was not regarded by the Ministry as wholly equivalent to the ordinary teacher's certificate, even though up to this time the Ministry had not yet tightened up certificate requirements for school appointments to the point where 'uncertificated' teachers of technical subjects and science were formally excluded. Venables also speculated that this attraction to the schools was due, not to any lack of vacancies in further education, but to the fact that the schools offered less arduous work for the same salary.[14]

By 1954 the new training colleges had made only a slight impression on the further education colleges, supplying only a small percentage of the total teaching force. The small proportion of trained teachers, remarked Venables in 1955, indicated 'a strong need for expansion, especially when it is very probable that the proportion of full-time to part-time teachers is too low'.[15] (It was at that time still something like one to five or six.) For whatever reason—obscure, or obscurantist—the Ministry decided in 1954 that Bolton should be closed. There was a fierce outcry and the proposal was dropped. Its sheer oddity was underlined in the following year by the issue of a Circular 283, which stated that a further 2,700 teachers would probably be required during 1958/59. The number of full-time teachers actually appointed between 1956 and 1959 was 4,641, well in excess of this projection; in the event the technical-teacher colleges stepped up their output, and in 1961 another college was opened at Wolverhampton.

Intimations of INSET

In-service training for full-time technical teachers really developed much later, but tentative moves to install such programmes were made in the early 1950s. In 1950 a letter was sent from the Ministry to the regional advisory councils suggesting that they 'might consider the possibility of organising a course of training for full-time teachers in Technical Colleges and Colleges of Further Education establishments'. Positive responses came from at least two of the RACs, those of the North-West and the East Midlands.

In the North-West a scheme was devised to run two courses in 1951/52, one at Manchester and the other at Preston, intended for teachers in colleges all over the area, with a minimum of two years' service and no previous professional training. Trainees attended for thirty Fridays (the day on which there was generally the smallest demand from day-release students back in the technical colleges). Much of the time was spent in lectures on principles and methods, elements of psychology, applied (or Special) method and general subjects. 'Practice lessons' (12 hours) were 'conducted by each member of the group before the remainder of the class'. Some students received special 'method' training, others went out on visits to colleges to see how their subjects were tackled. Most of the lecturing was by staff from the Bolton Training College; local experts were brought in to talk on topics such as 'the Technical College' and 'External Examinations'.

According to contemporary report, the course was adjudged a great success, and the general impression left was that there would be more and even better courses in the future: 'In the North-West local authorities and colleges are cooperating to make available the new opportunity for those teachers in Further Education who have not experienced teacher-training.' Specifically, 'In 1952–1953 a day-release course for full-time in-service teachers is running at Bolton College.'[16] This was the first venture of the technical-teachers training colleges into the mode of training which was eventually advocated by the Haycocks Report and which then produced the first big dent in the rising mass of untrained teachers.

The East Midlands programme was not remarkably different from those at Manchester and Preston. It attracted sixteen clients, from all over the region, most of whom were teaching to Ordinary National Certificate level mainly in engineering and trades. Attendance over a period was for twenty-one whole days of six hours each. Students submitted two extended essays, but little attention could be given to 'teaching practice' (a cause of some difficulty in assessing their progress). 'A certificate of attendance and diligent application to the work, making no pretence to certify proficiency in teaching was issued by the Nottingham and District Technical College to these men.'[17] While this course confirmed the need for more training, it provided no model for the future. Of special interest though, was the involvement not only of the RAC, but also of the Departments of Adult Education and of Education of the University of Nottingham. Professor Robert Peers (head of Adult Education) intimated his department's concern with 'vocational' as well as 'non-vocational' continuing education; although he did not actually take part, Professor Norman Haycocks (head of the Department of Education) indicated his interest.[18]

Training for part-time teachers

The moment had also come to do something about part-time teachers employed in a rapidly expanding further education system. Technical-teacher training colleges had quite enough to do to keep their innovative programmes for full-time teachers going, and it would be a long time before they began to take more than a passing interest in the needs of the part-time masses. To begin with it fell to a few LEAs to tackle the issue.

Some authorities had recognized fairly early that it was in their own interest to tackle the problem. Probably the best-known early initiative was the Yorkshire Council for Further Education's *Handbook for Part-time Teachers* of 1944; it ran into seventeen impressions between July 1944 and June 1950, when it was completely revised, and it went on being published. There were doubtless a number of short voluntary courses started for part-time teachers, vocational and non-vocational, and it is likely that most of them had a short life. Two courses were destined to achieve slightly greater fame, one at the Birmingham College of Commerce and the other at Bradford Technical College, for they were the first to gain approval of the City and Guilds Institute when it embarked in 1953 on its Technical Teacher's Certificate programme.[19]

Here the Institute rejoins the action, but not in any way betokening a relentless search for new territories in which to examine, of which it was sometimes accused. Far from it, for the Institute was extremely reluctant to get further involved in the tangled business of teacher certification. The Technical Teacher's Certificate resulted from a direct approach from the Ministry of Education, by Chief Inspector H. J. Shelley, who had been an assessor to the Percy Committee and was associated with the National Advisory Council on Education for Industry and Commerce and the National Advisory Committee on the Supply and Training of Teachers. At a meeting of the Institute's Examinations Committee, in March 1950, called to discuss 'Principles for the Training of Teachers of Technical Subjects', Shelley referred 'to the need for training in teaching by technical teachers. He thought that the City and Guilds could usefully undertake work in providing pedagogical certification for men wanting to become part-time or full-time teachers of technology.' Some members reported 'that certain such courses were being run in the Midlands and in the north in cooperation with local education authorities, but that a certificate provided by the City and Guilds of London Institute would be welcomed'. There was some question as to whether or not the examination would be for those who already held some technical qualification. Shelley thought it might 'be the intention although it was not essential'. (Nothing more was heard of this particular hint—which would have rendered the new certificate available to non-vocational part-time teachers and would perhaps have avoided much futile argument later on.) An Exploratory Committee was appointed forthwith.[20]

This is the point at which to return to the previously mentioned joint committee memorandum, the *Training of Technical Teachers*, of 1938. So many elements of its proposal for the training of part-time staff are echoed in the scheme eventually adopted by the CGLI, that the resemblance can hardly be accidental. Given the Institute's consultations with ATI and APTI, it could not have been otherwise. Accordingly, the 1938 outline is worth quoting almost in its entirety.

The joint committee was aware that part-time teachers, 'engaged in industry or commerce', would not be able to afford a month's residential training like that recommended for full-time teachers. The document continued:

> A more feasible arrangement might take the form of an evening course, lasting one session, of two evenings per week. A normal evening session lasts about 30 weeks and with 2 to 2.5 hours per evening gives a total time for instruction of 120 to 150 hours; this is the equivalent in time to a month's full-time course.
>
> Within the two evening periods, part of the time could be devoted to the general section of the work, part to the specialised sections dealing with the teaching of specific subjects, and the teachers-in-training should be attached as assistants to experienced teachers. Experience of this type should be obtained preferably in more than one institution....
>
> Evening courses of this type could be set up only in large industrial centres supporting a number of technical institutions within reasonable

> travelling distance of some central institution. In such areas the number of candidates seeking training for part-time technical teaching would be such as to make the course possible.... General discussions would not be possible to the same extent as in the month's full-time course where the groups would have more homogeneous interests, but this would be counter-balanced to some extent by the wider and less hurried experience obtainable in a session's course....
>
> A course of this type would probably be taken up readily by holders of Higher National Certificates, with a view to obtaining part-time teaching appointments, but it could not be made compulsory.... The organisation of the course might make it possible ... to spread the training over two years, taking one evening [a week] each year.
>
> ...Attendance at a part-time course should not be regarded as a qualification for exemption from a full-time course if the part-time teacher subsequently takes up full-time teaching, but should, however, exempt from the supervision otherwise normally exercised during the probationary year.[21]

This was the sort of scheme that the Institute adopted, though with differences which reflect the change in conditions that had occurred during the fifteen years between. The length of the course, its division between instruction and teaching practice, the principle of supervision, the basing of the courses in approved centres were all similar. To begin with the Institute envisaged the course as covering two years; for many centres this became one. Many more centres than the few thought feasible in 1938 were eventually opened, access to them for students being made possible by the far greater use of cars than was possible in 1938.

The Exploratory Committee reported in March, 1952. It intended the certificate for part-time teachers, but proposed, significantly, that it should also be available to full-time teachers. The draft regulations and syllabus for the examination were approved. The committee had been in touch with the Royal Society of Arts and the London Chamber of Commerce, and reported the possibility of those bodies providing a similar certificate for 'teachers of commercial subjects and the possibility of a joint scheme and certificates sponsored by all three bodies'. This proposal was also approved, but the matter does not seem to have been discussed again, and the committee does not seen to have been well informed about what the sister examining body was in fact already doing for part-time teachers.[22]

The Examinations Board of the Institute gave its approval to the scheme, No 163 in the Institute's Programme, for the Training and Certification of Teachers of Technical Subjects. Copies were to be circulated to the three bodies, the ATI, the APTI and the ATTI. The matter is entirely unnoticed in the ATTI's *The First Half Century*, published the following year. A joint response from ATI and APTI asked for wide representation on the committee of 'all major bodies and interests concerned', and reported that both were 'against any requirement of satisfactory completion of a training course although they recognise the value of such training, and give their fullest support to training courses'.

The ATI/APTI also thought that the proposed duration of a training course of 180 hours, was 'unduly lengthy for part-time teachers'; that a lower age-limit of 25 was too rigid, and should be discretionary to the course organizers. There would need to be a rigorous review of the scheme in two or three years' time and 'there might be some conference before the scheme was put into operation'.[23]

The scheme was finally approved in February 1953. Hours were reduced to 150; of these at least 48 were to be spent in teaching, 'with some discretion as to recognition of previous teaching service or postponement of teaching practice until after completion of the theoretical part of the course'. It was hoped that there could be similarity of content between it and the the syllabuses being prepared by the RSA, so as to avoid duplication of classes in technical colleges. The scheme was not to come into effect until the session 1953/54, but a special examination would be held this session, covered by General Regulations, to allow for the certification of those teachers already attending a course provided by the Birmingham College.[24]

Eleven candidates were examined at Birmingham that summer, nine of them obtaining the Institute's first ever technical teachers' certificates. Nine colleges in addition to Birmingham and Bradford applied for recognition immediately, and in summer 1954, twenty-seven candidates from five colleges took the first general examination for the Technical Teacher's Certificate of the CGLI, twenty-one being awarded the Certificate. In the following year 214 candidates from twenty colleges took the examination, 168 obtaining the Certificate. After a drop of nearly a hundred entrants in 1956, there were 276 candidates in 1957 from twenty-two centres.[25]

The pattern of take-up of the teacher's certificate programme at the early stage bore little resemblance to the 'central institution' idea of 1938. There were very few candidates from London, Lancashire (Bolton excepted) and Yorkshire, none from Birmingham, but quite a large turnout in non-industrial centres such as Weston-super-Mare, Windsor, Taunton and Aylesbury. Doubtless many colleges felt diffident about attempting to teach such a difficult art as teaching; some centres made use of neighbouring teacher-training establishments—Bolton had seventeen candidates, though Huddersfield only one. Seven candidates gained the certificate from Loughborough, where the services of two lecturers from the training college next door were recruited.

The epoch-making tenor of this account is qualified though not negated by the fact that the Royal Society of Arts had already become involved in the training of certain kinds of teacher employed in further education. (The City and Guilds archives themselves give a misleading impression of the chronology.) The RSA had in fact already launched a scheme for a shorthand teacher's certificate in the spring of 1949. The first test was held in summer of that year with an entry of 328 candidates. Arrangements were immediately made to run an examination for a teacher's certificate in typewriting, the first being held in 1950, when 139 took the examination and forty-seven 'passed in all sections'. This programme also had Ministry backing, as the 'panel controlling the examination' included a member of HM Inspectorate.[26] By 1955, there were 652 candidates for the RSA shorthand teacher's certificate and 403 for the typewriting teacher's certificate.[27] The success rate in both was low. Actually the requirements for full success were complicated, and the prime emphasis in these RSA certificate examinations was on technical competence in the skills to be taught.

The CGLI scheme took no particular notice of the precise technical skill of the candidate in the context of the examination. The conditions applying in the two different schemes were so much at variance that the sort of collaboration which the Institute's Examination Board had sought for was hardly feasible. The two bodies had long ago discarded the habit of co-operating, and at times proceeded on their own paths in a spirit of indifference to one another.

5

163 to 730: Progress of a Programme

The fact that the City and Guilds Technical Teacher's Certificate originated as an examination and not as a training programme has given rise over the years to much misunderstanding and some misplaced criticism. To attempt nowadays to promote a significant scheme of teacher training by the device of an external examination would, to most informed onlookers, appear quite absurd.

Criticisms of the scheme have less to do with its actual content, operation and merit, which have in fact shown unfaltering progress at least since 1956, than with increasing disapproval of the examination mode itself. And here critics have been apt to leave out of account the thoroughgoing changes in educational thinking that have occurred since the technical teacher's certificate was inaugurated. Two major elements of the changes since that time are: first, a major shift in attitudes to curriculum design and the use of examinations themselves; and secondly, a reformation in modes of education itself, away from the largely authoritarian approaches still in use at the end of the war towards 'child' and 'student centred' styles of organized learning.

In 1953 'external' written examination, inherited from the mid 19th century, was still the preferred mode of assessment. Its credentials as a reliable, valid and objective mode of testing had been badly dented by the investigations of Hartog and Rhodes and others in the 1930s, but business was brisk for all the external examining bodies, secondary and further alike. External examinations had become, whatever their founders' intentions, major determinants of the curriculum. But now the concept of 'curriculum development' as a process in which teachers, besides others, should take part, was finding currency. More teacher representation on the examining boards' examination and moderating committees did not answer the case. When in the 1960s the 'aims and objectives' cult set in, there began a move to put examinations back in their place behind the course instead of in front of it.

As a result of these changing conditions and perceptions, some educationists began to discount the value and educational bona fides of the external examining bodies altogether; these bodies survived mainly because teachers generally were not yet ready to take on the burden themselves,[1] and because they adapted and innovated to a quite unprecedented degree.

The whole conception of what is needful in the training—now the 'education'—of teachers as compared with what was regarded as appropriate forty years ago has also been transformed. Changes include the virtual abolition of the written examination as an instrument of assessment in training, the disappearance of much of the kind of rostrum lecturing that was once practised, new modes of organizing and evaluating teaching practice; and on the organizational level, the mixing of the sexes, and the much reduced isolation of teacher trainees from other young people in higher education, and successive shifts towards a graduate profession. There is now an increasing interest in in-service modes of training, and the induction into regular school-teaching of older people with other career experience.

From the start, most of those who entered technical-teacher training, part-time and full-time, had behind them other training and careers, and since the training was voluntary, acceptable conditions had to be created to persuade them to come in. The early City and Guilds programmes came to cater for people with a craft background seeking the opportunity to teach. When the three technical-teacher colleges were opened in 1946 and 1947, there were no exactly suitable models to copy, but the style chosen was that of existing traditional training colleges rather than the system of open, in-service training envisaged, however vaguely, by the technical bodies' joint committee of 1938. Students attended for three terms, most becoming 'residential' as the colleges began providing suitable accommodation. They were assessed on the basis of conventional periods of 'teaching practice' and stiff final examinations in the usual variety of subjects.[2] What really made all this possible was the unprecedented government further education training grant system by which returning servicemen and war workers could take up or re-enter higher education. One probable reason for the sluggishness of later expansion was the continuing reluctance of governments to spend money on this seemingly expensive type of provision.[3]

At the same time there was a vigorous growth of a different kind of training within further education, organized and run on totally different lines, attracting much less public attention and lying well below the levels of certification provided by the colleges. The main thrust came from the City and Guilds of London Institute, with parallel efforts by the Royal Society of Arts, and to an extent, the College of Preceptors. There were some local programmes, too, attempted by a few universities and some local authorities, and regional advisory councils, operating mainly in the field of 'non-vocational' adult education. In time there were to be attempts to bring the various interests together, full-time and part-time, vocational and non-vocational, prompted to some extent by the new idea of 'Coherence',[4] a theme to be explored in later chapters.

The CGLI Technical Teacher's Certificate, Course Number 163

There could be no complaint that the new Technical Teacher's Certificate, Course No 163 in the CGLI programme for 1953/54, was a product of amateurs. The membership of the newly created Advisory Committee was impressive: it included nominees of the APTI, ATI and ATTI; all three central education authorities of the United Kingdom were represented; two colonels represented the War Office; among all these were two principals of technical teachers' colleges.[5]

Explicitly the scheme was directed at 'part-time teachers engaged in Further Education, or those wishing to take up part-time teaching', but entry was also allowed to 'serving full-time teachers who have been unable to take a full-time course of teacher training at a technical teachers' college', which meant, of course, the majority of full-time teachers.[6] Contrary to the uncharitable criticism sometimes heard in later days, the programme was never intended as a make-shift alternative to full-time courses. Nothing was said about what valuation might be put upon it by the colleges themselves if a holder subsequently applied for admission to a full-time course, a problem to which this study returns.

The course required a minimum attendance of 150 hours, at least 48 hours of which were to be spent in teaching practice. The latter requirement could be pared down where principal or course tutor was 'satisfied by records and/or observation of the student's teaching ability', a concession which came to be rather over-used. Where the full period could not be arranged during the course, teaching practice could be finished later, but the certificate would not be awarded until it had been satisfactorily completed.

There was a three-part examination requirement:

Section A: Aims and Organisation of Education

Section B(i): Principles and Methods of Teaching, General

Section B(ii) : Principles and Methods of Teaching, Special

Section C: Teaching Practice.

Success in all three was necessary for the award of the certificate. Syllabuses A and B(i) were fairly detailed.The first emphasized 'the General and specific aims of education in relation to the individual as a person and as a member of the social group'; candidates should know about the 'structure of the educational system' in England and Wales (or Scotland, or Northern Ireland), and in particular the nature, purposes and organization of the 'technical college'; they should know also something of the 'field of further education generally and its organisation'. Section B (i) was concerned with 'the main factors in the teaching situation': why students learn, different capacities, needs and interests, educational backgrounds and the 'physical and psychological conditions influencing the learning process', and 'discipline'. General principles and methods included class management, lesson preparation and presentation, syllabuses and schemes of work, different teaching methods, use of aids and the blackboard, 'English and diction', skill teaching, organizing laboratory and practical work, note-making, homework, 'examinations, regulations of examining bodies, setting and marking of papers'.

Considering the problems involved in assembling groups of single-subject specialists, especially in the minority fields, the syllabus of Section B(ii) was as helpful and constructive as it could reasonably be. It was suggested that there might be 'sub-groupings' in which, although the focus could not be brought down to every interest represented, attention would be given to the essential issues. For instance there could be sub-groups to deal with workshop and practical studies of various kinds, and laboratory work. There was a reference to the need to develop interest in special conditions existing in individual trades, training facilities and opportunities within industry itself, the 'part played by employers' and employees' associations'. There were no suggestions as to who, specifically, should supply specialized instruction and guidance.

The complex problems posed by 'Special Method' were not peculiar to the CGLI certificate scheme. It was and it remained a vexed issue in the colleges also, controversy being kept alive for a long time by 'specialists' themselves, many of whom tended to emphasize the uniqueness of their particular trades or skills. In the course of time the problems were side-tracked, by the 'discovery' that the differences were, on the whole, less significant than the common features of the tasks of teaching. Also systematic methods of 'mentorship', by which college trainees were attached for such purposes to other experienced teachers, were in due course developed. The Institute was aware of the possibilities here, but was anxious not to provoke questions such as 'who is going to pay for all this?'

In another domain of supposed specialist differences—vocational versus non-vocational teaching—there was a tendency for many years for the adult educators to insist on a distinctive mystique. Also non-vocational courses were generally under rather different management in local authority departments, and the traditions prevailing tended to be derived from the idea of recreation and total detachment from the world of work. These LEA departments tended to take their tone from the university-based 'extramural' traditions and those fostered by the WEA. For some LEA (and university) non-vocational administrators, there was a great gulf fixed between the thinking behind their programmes and that of their vocational FE department colleagues. The evolution of the technical teacher's certificate was to be much influenced by this particular set of differences, but there was no hint in the first syllabus that the CGLI was particularly aware of or interested in the needs of part-time teachers in the 'non-vocational' area.

The Section A syllabus included a touching note suggesting that 'if a college has students for both the Royal Society of Arts Teacher's Certificates in Shorthand and Typewriting and the Technical Teacher's Certificate, a combined class might be formed for the Aims and Organisation and Principles and Methods of Teaching, General'. Whether there had been meaningful discussion between CGLI and RSA on this matter is doubtful, and sensible though the idea might be it proved a forlorn hope. The two factions kept quite apart in many colleges, as a result partly of the strong and persistent conviction on the side of office arts teachers that theirs was a unique mystery, and partly of the separateness of commerce departments in most colleges. The take-up of the technical teacher's certificate, like that of the RSA certificates, was often the result of departmental rather than central college initiative, and 'ownership' frequently remained with the department and not the college itself.

Actual conduct of the 163 training was by designated tutors, and courses could be run by technical colleges 'or other institutions for further education', by local authorities or by 'local authorities on a regional basis', thus allowing RACs to conduct them. None ever did, though some RACs became involved in other forms of further-education teacher training.[7] All courses required the Institute's express approval and details were required of the 'total number of hours on the course, the arrangements for teaching practice and the names and qualifications of the teachers and the course tutor'.

There was no formal indication as to what those qualifications ought to be, or what criteria were to be applied. This never was stated, and whatever might have been the practice to begin with, 'approval' in due course became a functional matter of the Institute's assigned officer adding the new centre to the list. The colleges wishing to take part did the best they could; the take-up was not fast, doubtless because of what must have been difficulty in finding suitable staff. In 1958 there were thirty contributory colleges (as compared with fifty-six offering the domestic subjects teacher's certificate course).[8] Some colleges recruited the services of lecturers part-time from neighbouring teacher-training colleges and occasionally from universities. At least one university, Reading, ran a successful technical teachers' class, the main tutors of which were members of the university staff, assisted by visiting lecturers from local technical colleges and colleges of further education.[9]

This was, fortunately for Course No 163, a time of expansion. As a result of the drive for the liberalizing of technical studies, colleges took on arts and social science graduates to develop 'liberal studies'. An increasing number of teachers appointed for such work had either undertaken, or now started, part-time postgraduate diploma and masters' degree courses in education, and it became inevitable that the role of 163 course tutor should commonly fall to such people. Technical and commerce departments began also to take note of this development, sometimes also appointing people with suitable qualifications; so that by the mid 1960s there was more than a sprinkling in the colleges of teachers qualified academically and by experience to act as education tutors. The technical teacher's certificate contributed to improved 'tone' and self-esteem in the colleges, for 'CGLI 163' began to command a certain prestige. By its very nature the course could succeed only if the Institute allowed to the participating colleges more than customary freedoms of judgement and decision. This applied particularly to terms of admission and to supervision and assessment of teaching practice.

Eligibility for the course was an issue that had been well thrashed out by the Exploratory Committee.[10] There were four categories of admission: serving part-time teachers with at least two sessions of teaching experience; serving part-time teachers without experience, but recommended as suitable by principals; intending part-time teachers with adequate technical qualifications such as Higher National Certificate or

Final City and Guilds, or an appropriate professional qualification or appropriate industrial or commercial experience; teachers serving full time in further education who had not been able to take a full-time course of training.

Admission was at the discretion of the course tutor, who also had much freedom in the conduct of the course. The Institute did not require details of the actual management of the course and there were no means by which it could check on that or on the bona fides of applicants. Teaching practice and assessment were to be arranged to run preferably through the two sessions of the course, 'though for the intending teachers there might well be greater emphasis on teaching practice in the second session.... In addition to teaching practice proper, each student should have opportunities for practice teaching with other students in the course or group, such informal practice being followed by group discussion led by the course tutor.' Sometimes such sessions were slipped in to make up for shortfalls in teaching practice totals. A final assessment of teaching practice was forwarded to the Institute indicating whether the student had 'reached a satisfactory standard or not'. The Institute reserved the right 'to appoint an external assessor to act in consultation with the course tutor'. For some years no assessors were appointed on a regular basis but, later, the 'Institute Assessor' for teaching practice and course-work and finally for the entire course became the central figure in the whole arrangement.

This course probably allowed more latitude to the colleges than other CGLI schemes, and was thus something of an innovation. It was firmly based on an external written examination but here, too, there was an unprecedented measure of freedom. The first paper, on Sections A and B(i), was a regular external paper, set by the Institute's examiner. The second, covering the rest of the curriculum, was to be 'set and marked internally by the college, and subject to external assessment'. The assessment was done by the CGLI examiner, and there was a vigorous traffic between the Institute and the colleges on the composition and marking of the papers. Considering the tricky issues of 'special method' the arrangement was a sensible one at this stage of development.

Fifteen years on, the prospectus for 1966/67 was to reveal only one or two slight modifications. Admission under the head of 'serving full-time teachers' was extended to include those working in a technical capacity in HM Forces who had not received a full-time course of teacher training. The lower age limit was now fixed at 23, and applicants were expected to have 'the necessary background of general education to enable them to benefit by the course'.[11] A footnote suggested that students 'whose powers of expression are weak' might take a course in English alongside their certificate work. (As with most other examinations offered by the Institute, candidates' standards of literacy often left much to be desired.)

The Institute's own examination paper did not change in tone and character during the early years, being rather wordy with questions hemmed in with commentary and suggestion, doubtless intended to be helpful. Five questions were to be answered with at least one and not more than two from Section A (Aims and Organization). Question 3 from this section of the 1958 paper read:

> Provision for raising the school leaving age to 16 years and compulsory attendance on one day a week at a College of Further Education for all young workers who have left school and are under 18 years of age are already embodied in the 1944 education Act; neither provision has yet become effective. If you were required to give priority to one of these provisions, state, with reasons, which you would prefer and give some account of the problems and difficulties to be met.

Question 4 was equally prolix:

> Vocational interest has brought many young people to evening institutes and technical colleges, but has failed to retain them because the connection between their occupations and their class work has seemed too remote. Discuss this and suggest means by which vocational interest can be maintained without sacrifice of systematic and progressive training.

Section B (Principles and Methods of Teaching, General) came nearer to practicalities, but even here the examiner could not avoid complexity. Thus question 8:

> A liberal provision of teaching aids is available to you. Explain what visual aids, if any, you would select and how you would use them in lessons of

> three distinct types. In your answer you should not only define the type but outline the particular lesson which you have in mind. The following types are listed merely to clarify the question, not to limit your choice:-
>
> - A geometrical truth or method.
> - Source and preliminary processing of some material.
> - Principles of operation of an appliance.
> - Analysis of a manual skill.
> - Any evolutionary process, including development in artistic or mechanical design.
> - Cyclical events—heart beats, tides, engine cycles.

And question 12:

> Part-time students are usually following courses related to their professions or crafts; e.g., National certificate or City and Guilds courses. Each course has to serve various subdivisions of industry and in any event can rarely keep in step with the progress in his employment of an apprentice or learner. None the less there exists in most classes a valuable store of knowledge and skill relevant to the course being studied.
>
> State in some detail the measures you would take to utilise this available body of experience, notwithstanding the difficulty imposed by unavoidable diversity. Your answer will be most effective if it relates to some specific course.[12]

What candidates made of all this cannot be told. Examiners' reports have long ago been destroyed, and minutes of the Examinations Board and the Institute's annual reports give very little detail. In the light of later experience it is doubtful if this kind of detailed but rather abstract questioning did anything but confuse many of the candidates. The vague indications which we have mentioned from the prospectus about 'general education' and 'expression' suggest that the examiners were not too happy about some of the composition they read. There are no copies left of local papers, and no records as to the scoring in these as compared with the 'national' paper. The chances are that the scoring was higher and the composition not so convoluted.[13]

Nor are there any ways of determining what were the criteria of pass and fail, in the written examinations or in teaching practice assessment. Table 3 of the Appendix lists the crude figures for entries and results over the period 1954 to 1968. Demand rose steadily throughout, from 27 entries and 21 passes in the first year, to 1,376 entries and 904 passes in the last. That the moderately low failure rate, fluctuating considerably but averaging 29 per cent, signifies a very high standard of performance may be doubted; as was usual in such examinations in the days before 'criterion referencing', the pass/fail margin was a hit-and-miss convention. The influence of the certificate on the morale and effectiveness of many of those who gained it is indubitable, even though there was never any question so far as most authorities were concerned of additional increments being 'paid to part-time teachers who gained the Certificate or a similar qualification', as recommended in the Willis Jackson Report, a document which commented approvingly on the CGLI technical teacher's certificate programme.[14]

The Domestic Subjects (Further Education) Teacher's Certificate, Course No 164

A footnote to the first regulations of CGLI 163 of 1953/54 said that the new Certificate was intended to replace the Institute's teachers' certificates in 'needlecrafts and cookery' after 1954. 'Thereafter, candidates... should pass the new Advanced examination in their domestic subject before entering a Technical Teachers' course. It is hoped that many existing courses for teacher's certificates in needlecrafts and cookery will be converted into courses for the Technical Teacher's Certificate.'[15] The assimilation was not to be. Though their resistance is not reported in any remaining records, it is clear that the domestic subjects teachers were quite unwilling to throw in their lot with the technical. Accordingly, in 1955 the Institute reported that the technical teacher's certificate had been 'found to be in some respects not well suited to the needs of teachers of domestic subjects engaged in Further education', and that 'a separate Domestic Subjects (Further Education) Teacher's certificate has been instituted'.[16]

The syllabus was not much different from that for the technical teachers. It was neater, more succinct, and because the examiners believed they knew what the 'Principles and Methods of Teaching, Special' should be, they specified them in separate section. In fact most of the new material was 'Principles and Methods, General' given a light gloss of reference to domestic subjects; some of the items had no 'special' justification at all, for example the miscellaneous list of 'Aids to Teaching'.

Admission requirements were simplified: applicants had to have passed the appropriate Advanced level examination to be eligible, except, on discretion 'a student over 30 years of age who is attending a two-years' full-time course in domestic subjects'. There was emphasis later on 'a good command of written and spoken English', the standard of Ordinary level GCE being suggested as a minimum requirement; 'clear and correct power of expression' as to be taken into account in assessment of practical and written work.

Two other rigours distinguished the scheme from the technical teacher's: the first, a requirement that candidates should pass two externally set papers, the special method element being examined by the central examiners; the second, an altogether tougher assessment of teaching practice. This included a confidential report sent in by the course tutor; a test performance before the Institute's examiner, with not fewer than ten students, to include both demonstration by the teacher and practical work by the members of the class; and submission to the Institute's examiner of a file of notes of lessons given during the course, 'together with any teaching equipment appropriate to these lessons'.

Though the domestic subjects certificate programme was more demanding in some respects than the technical teacher's, the two ran alongside in the colleges, with not much collusion of effort, until 1969, when the Institute had concluded that the time time had come to combine them. During its independent life, the examination for the Domestic

Subjects (Further Education) Teacher's Certificate had a quite respectable take-up (see Appendix, Table 4). From 77 entries and 56 passes in 1956, it advanced steadily to 509 entries and 325 passes in 1969. In 1970, after which domestic subjects teachers joined the technical teachers, there was a small entry of 72; thereafter candidates experienced the altogether more benign judgement of the technical teachers' examiners. It is clear that the domestic teachers had been having a much harder time of it; even allowing for the raising of the pass rate from 1964 onwards, there was a clear ten points difference between the average pass rates for the technical teachers, at just over 70 per cent and 58 per cent for the domestic subjects teachers. This is significant given that from 1965 onwards the two groups took the same paper for the Aims and Principles (General) sections of their examination.

Domestic subjects teachers had a high reputation for competence; and later, as a group they were always well up among the high scorers in the technical teachers' examinations. Before the adoption of the common paper, there was a marked difference in style between the papers set: the technical teachers' paper, wordy and rather abstract, that for the domestic subjects teachers short, decisive, no nonsense. In 1959 the technical teachers' paper consisted of sixty-seven lines of text, excluding rubric; that for the domestic teachers had a sparse twenty-three.[17]

The credibility of a double programme of two parallel schemes of assessment could not be sustained. There was also a growing number of critics of the system, who objected to what they saw as unduly easy access for modestly skilled part-timers to a teacher's certificate which, even if it did not carry the imprimatur of the Ministry, was awarded by as prestigious a body as could be found in the world of technical education. The CGLI was clearly becoming sensitive to criticism from those who were now able to speak from a base of experience in technical-teacher training.

The Further Education Teacher's Certificate, Course No 394

Since CGLI 163 had been introduced, much had happened across the whole field of further education, in the traditional ad hoc and piecemeal way but at a greater rate than ever before. It amounted in fact, to what Cantor and Roberts have described and documented as 'The Explosion of Further Education'.[18] Starting with *Technical Education*, the Conservative government's White Paper of 1956, there came a continuous output of reports, white papers, circulars, even legislation, each representing some new perception, change of policy or resolution on reform. *Technical Education* was notable in one respect: it contained a declaration that the government was willing 'to provide the necessary financial backing without delay' for the great expansion of further education now seen to be necessary.[19]

As regards training of the greatly increased numbers of staff who would be required, the general prejudice, including that of the government, whatever its political colour, was that the issue had best be left alone, as any programme of pedagogic 'conversion' and upgrading was likely to put off potential applicants. However, two major reports on technical-teacher training appeared, the *Supply and Training of Teachers for Technical Colleges*, usually known as the Willis Jackson Report, issued in 1957, and the *Report on the Supply and Training of Technical Teachers*, the Russell Report, after Sir Lionel Russell, chairman of a subcommittee of the then National Council on the Supply and Training of Teachers.[20]

Willis Jackson said that there ought to be a substantial increase in the intake of the three colleges, to increase the number of trained teachers in the service by 7,000 by 1961, and that another college should be created. This advice did lead to an increased output from the colleges, and the introduction of a sandwich course for suitable applicants already in post whose colleges were willing to release them. A fourth college, at Wolverhampton, was opened in 1961. The modest objectives set by Willis Jackson were achieved but by 1963 the gross number of full-time teachers had passed the 28,000 mark.[21] Another by-product of the Willis

Jackson Committee was the establishment in 1963 of the Further Education Staff College (Coombe Lodge) at Blagdon, Somerset to provide residential development courses for full-time staff in the service.

Neither Willis Jackson nor Coombe Lodge gave much attention to part-time teachers. The Russell Report gave no attention to this matter either, though in other respects it was the most thoroughgoing and radical of all the surveys and proposals about technical-teacher training so far. 'Like the Willis Jackson Committee we believe that the quality of teaching is no less important than the number,' began the report. It stated later, 'There are many untrained teachers who perform their duties well; there are many others whose students do not derive from their teaching the benefit they may reasonably expect.... Professional training can improve the teaching ability both of those entering and of those who are already in service, with the result that they derive more satisfaction from the work and the students more benefit from the teaching.'[22]

Russell's sub-committee went to some trouble to explain just what were the disadvantages of an entirely voluntary system of training; those who made the decision to transfer into teaching were poorly compensated by poor grants and, since they had to give up their industrial employment before being taken on by the colleges, they suffered from 'career insecurity'; far too few were being trained by the sandwich-course system. The Russell Report favoured in-service methods of training, and also committed itself to the principle of compulsory training, to be required of all new entrants from 1969 onwards. These would obviously be mostly at the lower end of the scale and there would be, perhaps, some 15,000 between 1966 and 1974. The existing technical-teacher colleges, with additional training places somewhere in Wales, would be sufficient to meet the need.

When the requirements were fully in place, new staff would be expected to accomplish their training 'within three years of the date of appointment'. All the training should be 'in-service', and local authorities would pay salaries, travelling expenses and various other grants, chargeable to the national teacher training pool. Various methods should be adopted for training existing staff, possibly by the running of out-centres under the charge of staff of the training colleges: 'One result would be the gradual building up of a body of teachers equipped to supervise and help new entrant colleagues during the middle two terms of the sandwich course of professional training and generally to participate in in-service training.'[23]

The report went to the DES on 2 August 1966, and on the very day of its publication, the Secretary of State, Anthony Crosland, rejected it out of hand, 'on the grounds that it would impede recruitment at a time when we were in urgent need of recruits, and that the economic position of the country would not permit it'.[24] This caused dismay among those in the profession who had come round to the view that the quality of technical teaching needed something as drastic as Russell was recommending. It was not as though the report was produced by unrealistic hot-heads; the sub-committee included many representative and highly respected figures from across the field. The only long-term effect of the sub-committee's work was that out-college centres were opened over a wide area, especially in the east of England; thus providing bases that were greatly developed after the Haycocks Report of 1975, when something resembling a national system of in-service technical-teacher training came into being.

Russell contains no mention of part-time teachers, numbering perhaps 130,000 at the time, and performing as much as 30 per cent of all further-education teaching. The secretary of state's action solved no problems for full-time teachers and indeed off-loaded some of their training on to schemes run by the City and Guilds and RSA. At this time both schemes 163 and 164 were accepting about 1,500 candidates, and the RSA a similar number in its programme for teachers of shorthand and typewriting, now supplemented by an examination for teachers of office practice. In both bodies' schemes, the numbers of full-time staff participating was rising.

Aware of what was in the wind, and of the deficiencies of its own schemes, the Institute undertook a review and came up with a revised programme. Towards the end of 1967 it was decided to replace schemes 163 and 164, in which there was much common content, with 394, to be called the Further Education Teacher's Certificate, and 395, the Advanced Certificate. To quote from a recent study of this development:

> The Advisory Committee considered the Technical Teacher's Certificate to be too limited in its applicability and wanted to broaden the relevance or the scheme so as to appeal more widely to such groups as instructors in HM Forces, nursing tutors, instructors in government training centres and in industry and training generally.
>
> The Further Education Teacher's Advanced Certificate (395), was devised 'to meet the needs of less experienced teachers for advanced studies in further and adult education'. The scheme was intended as an additional qualification for those who had earlier obtained any of the following: The Further Education Teacher's Certificate (394), the Technical Teacher's Certificate (163), the Domestic Subjects (FE) Teacher's Certificate (164) or other recognised teachers' certificates, and who wished to pursue a more advanced study of aspects of education.[25]

The 394 programme was not superficially very different from 163. Its composition was admirable in its brevity, the syllabus being cut from three dense pages to one. The critical difference was the abolition of the second written examination paper, the one supplied by the centre, and in its place the requirement of an assessment of course-work. This was in line with current developments at teachers' colleges. There was not much guidance at this stage as to the nature or quantity of the course-work, its arrangement being 'entirely the responsibility of Course Tutors', according to the directive. Somewhat more helpfully, the 'Notes for the Guidance of Course Tutors' advised that tutors should supply an assessment of coursework, based on an eight-point scale, and amplified, where necessary, with remarks which might be helpful to the consideration of a candidate's overall results. 'It is not expected that this assessment will be based solely on the candidate's written homework; it is hoped that other means, such as project work, will be included in the assessment. It is important that the course work should be related as far as possible to the student's chosen field of teaching.'[26]

There was another crucial item in the notes. Area assessors were to be appointed by the Institute to visit participating colleges:

(a) to discuss with the Course Tutor the general arrangements for the organising and teaching of the scheme, and any problems or difficulties which arise.

(b) to consider the standards of the course as a whole in relation to the level expected to be reached.

(c) to examine the work; produced by students, if available at the time of the visit, and assess the standard in relation to the college assessment.

The Institute warned that it reserved the right to send an Assessor to examination centres, by arrangement, to assess the practical teaching of candidates, and especially those whose teaching was considered borderline. By the time this arrangement was put into effect, a year or two later, it was evident that course tutors would positively welcome it. There was a modest change also in the teaching practice requirement, 30 (instead of 48) hours of the total 150 hours minimum course length. There was thus a specified minimum of 120 hours for course work.

The new scheme came into operation in 1969. There was an immediate and substantial rise in entries, which continued for most of the short life of 394. In the first year of examination there were 1,646 entries and 1,127 passes; in 1972, the last year, the figures were 2,386 and 1,713 respectively. The failure rate across the same period fell from about 32 per cent to 28 per cent.[27]

In the final year the Institute undertook a survey of applicants, which, despite some rather unsatisfactory questions and dubiously calculated statistics, gives an idea of the composition of the clientele.[28] From a questionnaire circulated to 2,200 candidates and returned by 1,214 (just over 51 per cent of those who actually took the examination) it appears that the majority were thirty or over, and that nearly 60 per cent were women. Of the 1,176 who answered the particular question, 691 or nearly 40 per cent of the total had never been full-time students. The majority had 'advanced qualifications' of one kind or another, ranging from higher degrees to craft and domestic subject qualifications. Some 32 per cent were existing teachers of one kind or another, while the majority had industrial or commercial experience of some kind. Some 410 were teaching full-time in colleges, and 422 currently part-time. A wide spread of specialisms was mentioned, including engineering, building, business subjects, a large number of 'domestic/household' subjects and at the lower end, 'art/aesthetic' subjects and physical education. Some 21 per cent taught 'non-vocational' classes; about 25 per cent were not actually teaching at the time, and 64 per cent had taken a one-year rather than a two-year course. (By this time many colleges were offering courses covering both one year and two.) Especially interesting were reasons for doing the course, so far as these can be interpreted: 326 out of a total of 1,114 answering said that they had taken it because they had not done a DES-recognized course elsewhere; another 195 claimed to have done it 'partly' for that reason.

What is evident from this enquiry is that CGLI 394—like 163 before it—was partially satisfying the needs of a very mixed collection of people, the majority of whom were quite well qualified in the technical sense. A substantial number had themselves been early school-leavers, but twice as many had left school later than the minimum leaving age. Though the majority of candidates were concerned with vocational subject teaching, there was an appreciable minority teaching non-vocational subjects, many of them doubtless to adult classes in evening institutes.

One set of questions in the 1972 Survey was directed at the clientele of advanced Course No 395, launched at the same time as 394. The examination requirements for this award comprised a three-hour written paper, on 'The Aims and Organisation of Further and Adult Education', a continuous assessment of the student's work and 'an assessment by the Institute's examiners of the student's special study'. The special study was to take the form of a written report of between 3,000 and 5,000 words on a topic agreed with the tutor.[29] The programme was never a success. Few students applied to begin with; in the 1972–76 period numbers rose to ninety-four and then fell off to seventeen; there was a tiny entry of three as late as 1979. (Withdrawal of 395 had been recommended in 1974, but it was allowed to continue until 1980.)[30] Quite a large number of those asked in the enquiry of 1972 indicated that they 'would do the 395, if available', but it is doubtful whether most of those answering knew what the issues were. Of those who answered 'No' to the question, a large majority said that they would take it 'if the 395 counted towards [but did not give completely] DES recognition as a qualified teacher [for example as half a sandwich course at a college of education (technical)]'.[31] There was never any question so far as the Department was concerned of the advanced certificate counting in any way at all: the programme had been a marketing venture and it had failed completely.

In 1973, with no alteration for the time being to its content, 394 was relocated in the catalogue, to become '730', a number which was to become a universally recognized soubriquet for the Institute's Further and Adult Education Teacher's Certificate programme.

6

730 in Action: Liberation from Examination

In all the government-sponsored reports before 1973 there is little evidence of a coherent view of the training of teachers for further education. A reason for this was doubtless the lack of any philosophy of further education itself. The consensus was merely that further education was, or ought to be, 'vocational', and in a series of government statements from 1945 to 1949 it was steadily squeezed into such a definition. As for any 'non-vocational' components, the wording of the 1944 Act allowed those to be categorized as facilities for 'leisure-time occupation in organised cultural training and recreative activities'.

Further Education as a whole has never been the subject of a thoroughgoing review though Adult Education was extensively examined in 1969–73 by Sir Lionel Russell's committee—and its plans for adult education were more or less ignored. Writing of the facilities for training as they were in 1969, Cantor and Roberts described a totality of provision, 'which has grown in ad hoc fashion, is quite inadequate to meet the needs of teachers in further education and has long been recognised as such'.[1]

Recognition of the need there may have been, but commitment to doing something about it was another matter. It was the James Report of 1972 that lifted the whole issue of teacher training, at least for those entering further education, on to a new level. For although the James Committee was not concerned with further education in particular, its emphasis on 'Third Cycle' training, that is, in-service development, induced a new view of things.[2] Haycocks was to apply the 'third cycle' principle expressly to further education in his report of a few years later. This put further education teacher training on a quite new track. While the Haycocks proposals were gestating, the 'quite inadequate' resources of the existing system had to suffice.

This was the background to the expansion of the 'voluntary' system, provided by the City and Guilds of London Institute for technical teachers, the Royal Society of Arts for teachers of commercial subjects and languages, and some local authorities and regional advisory councils for further education more particularly for teachers of non-vocational subjects in adult centres and evening institutes. Here attention will be concentrated on the premier programme, the CGLI 730.

Since its inception, the City and Guilds Technical (Further Education) Teacher's Certificate scheme has run through various phases, each representing a significant assessment or reassessment of function and style, all the time increasing the scope and take-up of the scheme. The first and second historical phases have been described in Chapter 5. The third phase, to be covered here, was critical for the survival and future development of the Institute's main programme of teacher education, since it was then that formal written examination was abandoned as an element of assessment. This process involved a long and elaborate 'Feasibility Study' which attracted little overt attention from the educational press and establishment generally. Abandonment of the examination represented for the Institute itself a major departure from tradition and practice, 730 being the first major scheme to discard the mode of assessment for which the Institute had actually been established.

The consequences have been considerable. Contemporary with this radical change in practice were the Haycocks proposals for an equally radical shift in provision for the training and certification of full-time teachers in further education. Though 730 has subsequently been much affected by the developments that followed Haycocks, and has now been much adapted to ensure closer and more efficient relationship with the new arrangements for in-service training of further education teachers, the CGLI feasibility study anticipated Haycocks. It was completed in 1975, while the latter was not actually published until two years later.

The 730 Programme in operation[3]

The period before 1978 represented not only the last years of the written examination, it also saw this examination through its most intensive and earnestly managed phase. The examination mode had been adopted in this programme by the CGLI as the only one it knew. In some of the examinations in its regular list, the 'practical' had been developed as an element of the testing, but almost entirely as a supplement to the written examination. Much ingenuity had gone into devising and evaluating practical test-pieces, though only one brief attempt at integration had been made (in the early 1960s with the introduction of the Institute's 'Workshop Practice' series.) The main problem in introducing change was the greater reliance that would have to be placed in practice on the judgement of course tutors. This ran counter to all the authoritarian traditions in these matters, which attributed to the centrally set and marked written examination all the appearance of objectivity and reliance on 'best authority'.

When the Institute first entered into the assessment of teachers' performance, there was available a palpable product such as woodwork constructions, garments, puddings or pies, on which critical attention could focus. Gradually in the domestic subjects and handicrafts teachers' certificate schemes, the emphasis in assessment shifted to the performance of the teacher as pedagogue. In the domestic subjects field this shift was most satisfactorily accomplished with the principle of the practice lesson assessed by the Institute's own travelling examiner. The handicraft teacher's certificate emphasized the assessment of the teacher's craft capability.

The 1970s were years of considerable reforming activity in the Institute, the most significant single event being the feasibility study which preceded the dropping of the further education teacher's certificate written examination. Before this, organic change was taking place. The main difference between the first prospectus for CGLI 730, published in 1973, and that for the later years, was the inclusion in the latter of three pages of 'Aims and Objectives', a statement of the precise purposes of the 730 scheme in terms which had now become the vogue in education. The aims-and-objectives bible, Bloom's *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives*, which began publication in the USA in 1956, did not really gain much attention in Britain until the later 1960s. But then it achieved wide circulation, supporting the growing dissatisfaction with external examinations as governors of curriculum development; the idea of practitioners actually designing for themselves educational taxonomies and achievable objectives attracted much enthusiasm. There was also the notion that assessment of achievement by students could be quite effectively managed by the teachers themselves. The authority of external examiners came under challenge, especially as the teaching profession was learning enough to be able to doubt the 'reliability' and 'validity' of conventional examining.

Where actual performance as distinct from accumulated cognitive knowledge was under test, the idea of assessment by experienced practitioners rather than 'experts' became much more acceptable than it had once been. Whilst the individual assessor of performance might be somewhat out in his judgement as compared with other assessors, judgement could be controlled and 'moderated' by some of the more experienced, appointed specifically to do this job.

The project for the design of a set of aims and objectives for 730 was started during 1972.[4] Representations from the Southern Regional Council for Further Education and from the National Institute of Adult Education (NIAE), persuaded the CGLI Advisory Committee to look at the 730 syllabus in the new way. A plan of seven 'Major Aims', each sub-divided into five, six or eight 'Objectives', expressing clear and desirable 'competences', was devised. The statement was simple and direct; while this added nothing to what was contained in the existing syllabus, it made all items seem achievable. When issued, the Aims and Objectives met with general approval and it was decided to retain the format both for the feasibility study and for the operation of the new scheme.

As expressed in their most recent form, in the course outline for CGLI, 730 Further and Adult Education Teacher's Certificate, 1987–89, the seven broad aims appear as follows:

1. To introduce teachers to the relevant principles of learning

2. To enable teachers to make a conscious choice of teaching methods based on an understanding of learning principles

3. To enable teachers to evaluate and use effectively the resources available to them themselves and students

4. To enable teachers to design appropriate programmes, courses, schemes of work with the active participation of the learning group

5. To enable teachers to understand principles and methods of assessment, and in particular to relate these effectively to the aims and objectives of the courses they are teaching

6. To develop the abilities of teachers to communicate in order to enhance their own effectiveness as educators and to enable them to assist students to develop their own communication abilities

7. To enable teachers to make effective appraisals of their own professional roles, responsibilities and teaching styles.

The detailed subdivision of these broad aims into attainable objectives produced a layout with one serious disadvantage; it encouraged some tutors to use it as a coursework check-list rather than an organic statement of purposes, and to fragment their schemes into separate tasks; also, a coursework marking scheme was adopted which fostered such fragmentation.

Anatomy of an examination

A brief account of the 1975 examination will give some idea of the examination structure at its final stage of evolution. This is appropriately accompanied by a brief indication of the kinds of responses produced from the quite motley clientele.

The paper contained twelve questions, each carrying the same marks. Candidates were asked to answer five questions, and the rubric suggested that 'wherever possible, answers should be illustrated from teaching experience'. This represented a break from previous practice, when papers had two separate sections: 'Principles of Teaching' (two questions to be answered) and 'Methods of Teaching' (three questions to be answered).

Though there were no complaints from candidates, the innovation met with fierce objection from some tutors who thought that the questions now were 'diffuse and vague with little differentiation for example between particular kinds of learning and learning theory.... We find the questions do not focus the candidates' attention on specific points at which theory and practice can meet.' According to complainants, 'There seems to be little direct relationship between the questions set and the objectives.' (Although not yet incorporated into the printed brochure, the 'Aims and Objectives' had now been circulated and were in use.[5]

Of the 2,573 candidates who took the 1975 paper, 2,198 were successful, a pass-rate of 85.5 per cent, significantly higher than usual, interpreted by the complaining tutors, doubtless, as a 'dropping of standards'. In this year, 436 candidates took the non-examination assessment allowed in a group of pilot centres under the Feasibility Study (of which more below), obtaining 419 passes, a rate of 96.1 per cent. This type of statistic was a cause of great uneasiness when the matter of discarding the written examination came to decision. What was not appreciated was that work produced in more relaxed conditions of class, seminar and homework, was likely to be of a superior quality to the long-familiar product of the examination room.

To attempt at this stage to generalize about the actual responses of candidates to the questions set would be pointless—though quite a lot of information about these is on record. Anyone familiar with the marking of mass examination papers will know broadly what to expect from candidates, making appropriate allowances for their ages, education and backgrounds. 'Tedious mediocrity' would have to be the main residual impression of the 'essays' produced in this examination, ranging from the output of candidates of high academic experience and achievement to that of practitioners whose 'powers of written expression' were barely adequate.

Questions were set with the idea of evoking generous 'open-ended' response, and prompting candidates to make vigorous use of what they had learned on the course, from instruction, reading, exchange with other students, discussion in groups and, above all, their experience of teaching. Not wholly successfully the examiners sought to discourage mindless repetition of clichés, jargon and, most pernicious of all, memorized extracts from textbooks. Though strongly urged at examination conferences to reward the positive and constructive elements of the answers, to concentrate on merits rather than faults, examiners were often trapped into ignoring this counsel. Most years' scripts did not fail to reveal frequent disinclination to answer the question asked (preferring rather the one they would have liked to be asked), evident desire to 'please the examiner' without much understanding of what the examiner wanted, great confusion about concepts familiar enough to trainers but not in regular use among the practitioners themselves, glib repetitions of jargon words and tiresome references to items of classroom folklore such as the great 'Chinese proverb', and especially poor presentation and lay-out.

It was the abundance of such infelicities and the many negative aspects of much of the work that ultimately convinced the majority of examiners that there must be decidedly better and more progressive ways of assessing the development of teachers in training. Statistical analysis aside, many examiners were energetically questioning the 'validity' of the written examination mode—in this field at least.

As it happens it was the practice of the Institute's Testing Services department from time to time to undertake a statistical question analysis on given examinations. For preference, a sample of 300 was taken; in this case 350 randomly selected scripts were analysed by standard methods. It is enough to report here that in statistical terms, as a conventional written test, the further education teacher's certificate examination satisfied most of the criteria set.[6]

Measures of such control and sophistication were not lavished on the two other components of the certificate programme, 'An Assessment of Course Work' and 'An Assessment of Teaching Practice'. These had evolved away from the examination, and although governed by the same syllabus, there was no formal process of connection between the three components either in operation or for collating results. Precisely how 'marks' were to be cumulated and final gradings reached in both components was determined by tutors and moderated by assessors. The coursework component was a sensible alternative to the 'local' paper, dropped in 1968, for the particular requirements of members of the tutorial groups. There was little direct guidance from the Institute as to how the course work schemes should be designed, operated and assessed. The prospectus stated: 'The college is responsible for the content and organisation of course work.' The teaching practice requirement, modified from the original 163 scheme, was very much in the hands of tutors:

> As part of the 30 hours' minimum teaching practice, arrangements must be made for each student to give 12 hours' teaching practice under supervision. The teaching practice of the serving teacher may consist in whole or in part of the actual part-time or full-time teaching in which he is engaged. The teaching practice must be completed by the end of the course and cannot be deferred until a further session.

Assessment of coursework had to be indicated on an eight-point scale, and of teaching practice on a pass/fail basis.[7]

That the system worked at all was wholly due to two factors. The first was the high standard of the tutorial service and arrangements provided by most of the participating colleges, for reasons discussed earlier—the increasing availability in colleges of staff with suitable qualifications and often experience, and the prestige value placed upon this course especially by the lower-ranking colleges. The second factor was the appointment and the rapid working in of a corps of assessors, an outcome of the 1968 changes, when coursework had been introduced. This group had been able within a very short time to induce a considerable measure of uniformity of style in the drafting of schemes and methods of assessment.

The Institute neither collected nor retained copies of schemes, nor did they issue any formal notes for guidance other than those contained in the prospectus. The 'style' of the scheme was however influenced by other processes of the time, which encouraged groups of tutors to come together, often with the participation of assessors, individually and in groups. There was during these years much activity in some of the regional advisory council areas, notably the East Midlands, Yorkshire, and Southern, concerned with the promotion of training for part-time non-vocational course teachers and much controversy as to the suitability of CGLI 730 to their needs. This activity often included regional conferences of tutors, many of them concerned in their colleges anyway with both the courses for non-vocational teachers of adults and the CGLI 730. Sometimes (as at the West Bridgford College in Nottinghamshire, for example) strenuous attempts were made to run the two kinds of programme in close tandem. Another factor was that local authorities and some individual colleges took initiatives in organizing conferences and training-sessions for tutors; while some ran, sometimes over several years, series of one-day schools for tutors and students on the 730 and other training courses. For six or seven years the Loughborough Technical College ran a programme during the Easter break, attracting 150 to 200 participants at a time, and this was by no means unique.

The Institute's assessors themselves, by 1975 some thirty-five men and women offering unrivalled expertise on in-service training within the further education system, were ranging throughout the country, meeting in groups regionally and locally, and at least once a year, at the Institute's headquarters, to exchange information and experience. Most of them were also tutors of courses, professional tutors and heads of departments at their own colleges. Their duties as assessors were to sample teaching-practice assessments at each centre, usually during the spring term, to sample and oversee coursework and coursework assessment, to give advice on schemes, to adjudicate in difficult cases and finally to authenticate the gradings produced by the tutors.

The Feasibility Study, 1974–76

The Study arose directly out of discussions in the sub-committee of the Advisory Committee concerned with the running of the 730 scheme, about the shortcomings of the examination as a means of assessing students' capabilities as teachers. Of particular concern was the disparity between the gradings achieved in the examination and those in assessed course work. Most years there were some queries or complaints from tutors about candidates whose examination results did not seem to match the work they had done on the course. Views were also voiced that the examiners tended to penalize the less literate, the workshop engineers, teachers of bricklaying and trades, who had done little study since leaving secondary school. (The policy of examiners, emphasized in Notes for Guidance, was 'not to sit in judgment on the candidates' style. The criterion to be used must be that of whether or not the candidate has conveyed his meaning reasonably clearly and accurately to the examiner.')

Another frequent criticism, this time from tutors of induction courses for non-vocational teachers, was that 730 was not suitable for their clients. The Institute's insistence, they claimed, on conventional examination literacy was a serious deterrent. Aware that increasing numbers of teachers of LEA non-vocational classes were coming up for examination, the 730 examiners were trying hard to cater for them too, only to promote complaints from some 'vocational' tutors that the bias of the 730 examination was now going against the interests of *their* clients. These issues were discussed at a meeting of the Assessment of Training subcommittee of the Regional Advisory Council for Further Education in the East Midlands in the autumn of 1972, which was (at variance with protocol in such matters) attended by the Chief Examiner of 730.[8] The interests of non-vocational teachers were also being pushed strongly at this time in the Southern Regional Advisory Council, and it was earlier pressure from this Council in particular that had prompted the drafting of the Institute's Aims and Objectives for 730.

It was decided on behalf of the Institute's Further Education Teachers advisory committee that all participating colleges should be written to to 'enquire whether there was general agreement of the need to review the assessment methods'. The replies suggested that at least a third of the colleges would welcome such a review. In February 1974 the Examinations Board gave permission for the running of an alternative scheme of assessment, alongside the existing scheme, provided that the same set of aims and objectives was used and that 'the standards as between the normal course and the Feasibility Study could be monitored', and that 'the students on the study should qualify for the same certificate'.[9]

The Examinations Board recommended that at least twenty centres should be included in the experiment. About 180 colleges at this time, entering about 3,000 candidates a year, were running 730. Twenty-one colleges were chosen to give a representative national distribution, and both one- and two-year courses were covered; it was expected that about 450 students would be affected during each year of the study. A working party was set up 'to define the aims for the study, to design the means by which they can be attained, to monitor the progress of the study and to report to the Advisory Committee sub-committee and to the Advisory Committee for Education'. It was also responsible for the maintenance of standards and it was hoped that the degree of flexibility which could be built into any new scheme of assessment could be appraised 'so that the special requirements of such groups as the adult education teachers could be met'.

The 'Final Report' prepared by the working party was passed to the advisory committee and accepted by the Institute's Examinations Board in 1976. Some key aspects of the entire study and its conclusions and recommendations are mentioned below. The resources provided by the Institute for the conduct of the enquiry were most generous, and the outcome significant for the progress of further-education training schemes. Yet it attracted only slight attention outside the Institute, partly because it was not officially published.

Since a prime concern of the exercise was to demonstrate comparability between the results obtained in the Feasibility and Non-Feasibility groups, it was decided not to introduce any new components into the assessment programme. In the event, the only way in which this principle could be maintained was by substituting for the discarded examination paper a more demanding coursework specification. The seven assessors allocated to the Feasibility colleges were required to agree with the college tutors an enhanced coursework programme which would take up the effort that would otherwise have been allocated to preparation for the examination. Specifications were to include indications of the 'weight' given to the instruction in each of the seven aims of the course, the value being proportionate to the level of skill aimed at, according to a hierarchy of notionally increasing weight, rising through knowledge/recall, understanding/ application, organization and expression to practical application. The method by which each aim was to be assessed was also to be indicated. A list of sixteen possible modes of assessment was suggested (such as essay, objectives test, teaching practice, assignment, case study), but by agreement with the assessor the tutor could specify others.

To allow for comparisons between Feasibility and Non-Feasibility results, that is, between a 'two-component' and a 'three-component' assessment, it was decided to divide the coursework assessment for the Feasibility candidates into two groups: the first involved coursework related to principles of learning, principles of teaching strategy, learning resources; the second covered course organization and curriculum development, assessment, communication and role in relation to students' background.

The maintenance of standards was crucial, and three methods were adopted. The working party met frequently to consider and approve schemes and monitor developments as they were reported; its members also attended conferences and seminars with course tutors. The seven feasibility study assessors also visited colleges providing the normal course. Their feasibility study duties were to sample the teaching practice and coursework assignments and to maintain contact with course tutors on the interpretation and application of the assessment scheme. While a course tutor was expected to produce and accept responsibility for the assessment and grading of students' performance, the final grades were determined through discussion and agreement with the assessor. The assessors also had their own meetings for purposes of co-ordination and moderation. For the first year of the study, the Institute prepared a sixty-item objective test to a specification based on weightings of content in college courses and using items submitted by tutors and assessors.[10] These items were used again in an eighty-item test during the second year of the feasibility study, providing a convenient means of comparing the standards applied in 1975 with those in 1976.

To ensure that some genuine comparisons of like with like would be possible, it was decided to standardize three tasks out of the entire list of coursework assignments, so that all candidates had something explicitly in common to offer for assessment. The first of these required the student to expand a major extract from a syllabus into a progressive scheme of work and produce a detailed plan for producing a particular lesson or unit of work inside the scheme, which must include a variety of learning aids, at least one of which the candidate must produce himself. The second involved the design and production of a scheme of assessment for the chosen area of work. The third asked for a critical appraisal of a book to be used for teaching purposes and of one other teaching aid chosen from: a film, film-strips, television programme (or series), radio programme (or series). For the purposes of the comparisons, these pieces, assessed on the standard eight-point scale, were combined into a single result for each candidate. Thus was invented what became, in the post-feasibility 730, the nucleus of 'CGLI devised coursework' element of all schemes.

The statistical data-handling envisaged was beyond the resources of the working party. From the National Foundation for Educational Research came a highly experienced consultant whose advice was followed throughout in devising the statistical system, and who processed the resulting data.

The report of the Feasibility Study, dated 1975, presented exhaustive statistical findings.[11] The outcome of the study was an unambiguous recommendation:

> That the following system of assessment be adopted for the CGLI 730 course and that it be progressively phased in over a three-year period beginning as soon as possible.
>
> A certificate to be awarded on the basis of a satisfactory standard in
>
> (i) coursework set by the college tutor
>
> and (ii) teaching practice.

Four important notes were added:

> This means the eventual exclusion of the existing written paper....
>
> It is implicit in the above that increased control would exist in the nature and amount of coursework given by course tutors. More compulsory coursework assignments would be designated, firmly related to the aims and objectives of the course. Course tutors would retain freedom in other areas of coursework, to suit the needs of any particular group, but the fulfilment of a standard assessment specification would be an essential criterion....
>
> It is also implicit in the above that an objective test will be taken by all students following each system of assessment and this will be used as a monitoring device. The use of the objective test as an examination component as well as a monitoring instrument will be investigated during the three-year change-over period....
>
> The role of assessors in moderating the coursework and teaching practice assessments will continue generally as undertaken in the study. With the increased control described in (a), the optimum number of visits necessary by assessors to each college will be kept under review during the change-over period.[12]

The report and its recommendations went through the advisory committee with some discussion and reservations. This was, after all, a quite momentous decision—the first time that the Institute had been faced with running a major examination scheme without a formal written examination. Nevertheless, advisory committee and examinations board approved this significant departure from tradition. There was undoubtedly some awareness that to continue the 730 in the old form would probably mean its gradual atrophy, since so many other developments were now occurring in the further education teacher training field. There were plentiful intimations from regional advisory councils that they wished to develop their own programmes for part-time teachers; some local authorities were setting up certificate schemes for their own part-time teacher employees; the RSA and the College of Preceptors were advancing further into the field and, though perhaps less well-known at the time, Haycocks' Further Education sub-committee of ACSTT was delving deeply into the vexed subject of further education teacher training in general and part-time teacher training in particular. The CGLI's move was timely, and it inaugurated a period of expansion in its teacher training ventures far beyond anything yet envisaged.

In passing, it may be mentioned that the advisory committee which approved this radical departure contained strong representation from the technical-teachers training lobby in the outside world, including a new generation from the teachers' colleges; representatives of the RACs, including critics of the 730; the Universities Council for the Education of Teachers was represented, for the first time, by Professor L. M. Cantor of Loughborough, an experienced participant in the affairs of CNAA, and an ally of the Institute in these developments.

The new scheme in operation

In 1977 there was a total examination entry of 3,276, a record to that point. Then in 1978 there was a sudden plunge to 2,598, and only a gradual recovery over the next few years. There was clearly uncertainty about what was to happen after the feasibility study: a revised issue of the customary prospectus was issued for '1977 onwards', containing no reference to all that had been happening or to any possible consequences. In fact, the first full issue of the prospectus giving explicit details of the change-over did not appear until 1981, by which time there were very few 'Old Scheme' candidates left at all. The gap was filled by various other communications, including a summary of the feasibility study and its recommendations, and then by a whole series of information letters and notes for guidance of tutors and for assessors. However, by 1983 examination entries had recovered to 3,265, and their number was to double over the next four years. (See Appendix, Table 5.)

The last examination paper was set in 1981, and though there have been a few urgings that it should be reinstated, there has never been any serious discussion of such a reversion. The scheme underwent some further modification, but in the direction of greater freedom for tutors to assume an unfettered role as 'examiners' as well as instructors, thus attaining the full responsibility of professional teachers, the teaching and assessing of their own students. Further—and secondary—education teachers have been remarkably slow to claim their rights in the matter of assessing their own students; and there were many tutors who were very reluctant to take on the responsibilities that the new 730 scheme of 1977/78 granted them. By this time hardly any teacher assessment on full-time training courses was by written examination, or if written examination was included it was given only a very slight weighting in the final assessment.

Clearly the pre-feasibility approach to coursework, embodied in the brief regulation, 'The college is responsible for the content and organisation of coursework', amplified by occasional notes for guidance sent out by the Institute's officers, was no longer sufficient. If colleges were to operate a system following on the lines of the feasibility study, with two components only to the assessment schedule, quite obviously more directive instructions had to be devised and enforced. The working party, now acting as an informal group within the 730 subject committee, took this on. Over the next three years it issued a variety of documents, and three main issues were kept under constant and strict review: the content, weighting of items and operation of the coursework assessment specifications for all of the 200 or so colleges now using 730; the supervision and assessment of teaching practice; the construction, administration and interpretation of the Objective Reference Test.

Control remained in the hands of the subject committee, but de facto management of the entire scheme reverted to the now large panel of assessors. Some thirty were already in regular service, rising to forty by 1980. They operated under a Chief Assessor who assumed all the duties of the now defunct Chief Examiner in addition to those of supervising the the work of the assessors. (The term 'assessor' was retained, largely through institutional habit, though some effort was made to define the assessors' work as 'moderation'.) Notes prepared during the feasibility study were used as an outline of their duties and responsibilities, emphasizing that they were not to be regarded as 'examiners'—that role now belonged to tutors—but as advisers and moderators of schemes, schedules, gradings, and as referees in cases of difficulty. It was their responsibility to ensure 'comparability', 'consistency', 'validity and reliability' of the assessments made by course tutors. They would report annually to the chief assessor, and, when required, attend meetings of assessors.

One of the earliest of the information documents explained: 'The grades awarded by the College will be compared by the use of Moderating Instruments: the CGLI Component Coursework grades and the scores on the Objective Reference Test.' The instruction emphasized that the latter was not to be used to moderate individual grades, though there were those who continued to believe otherwise until 1982 when this instrument was discarded. 'If the Instruments indicate cause for concern, the Chief Assessor will consult with the Assessor in the final award and he reserves the right to adjust the grades awarded and the award of the certificate.'[13]

The key document, issued in late 1977,[14] set out the entire conditions that governed the scheme to 1980 and, with adjustment until 1981. In addition to defining the roles of tutors and assessors, it included two 'Specifications', the first 'to give guidance to Course Tutors on achieving the right balance in the course, both between the seven aims and between the skills student teachers need to develop and to demonstrate, in their teaching and assessment'. To illustrate this, Specification A showed on a grid the notional 'weights' of assessment in terms of the 'hierarchy of skills' (knowledge/recall, understanding/application, organization/application, practical application, in ascending order), set against the seven aims. These weightings were reckoned on points adding to 100.

Specification B was a more elaborate grid, in which were to be set out by the course tutor, and approved by assessor, the explicit tasks to be performed by candidates. These tasks were divided into two groups. First was 'CGLI-devised coursework', a set of specified tasks which were to be included in all schemes, and to account for 35 per cent of all assessment values. The other was 'College-devised coursework', a further set of tasks assigned by the course tutor(s), subject to assessor's approval, accounting for the remaining 65 per cent. Overall allocation of tasks should produce 50 per cent folder work, 30 per cent practical work (including teaching practice), and 20 per cent for other tasks.

The 'CGLI-devised coursework' represented an extended version of the block of common coursework required of all candidates during the feasibility study from all candidates (which had been used to good effect in making comparisons between the two groups and between the years). It now included eleven items, mostly quite simple and carrying a very low weighting. For example:

> 1(a) (Principles of Learning) List the principles of learning which in their opinion have an important bearing on their subject, supporting each principle by drawing on experience where possible. [Weighting 3 per cent]

The two most heavily weighted were those for aims 6 and 7 (Communication, and Role):

> 6 Write an analysis of an observed lesson by a competent teacher in terms of structure, activity, language registers, communication, relationship and environment. [5 per cent]
>
> 7 Produce an extended piece of writing on a topic from the objectives. (This may take the form of an essay, or letters or memoranda or similar formal writing style. It should be of good length, eg about 2000 words). [5 per cent]

The 'extended essay' assignment proved to be the least acceptable and the worst performed of all these compulsory tasks. Though the component was never discarded, the work it produced improved only after explicit guidance was provided and compliance insisted upon by assessors, some years later. The invitation under 1a to 'list' the 'principles' produced, to begin with, some very poor-quality presentations, consisting of jumbled statements in which there was little differentiation between principles of learning and principles of teaching. The most constructive and generally best performed tasks were two of those in aims 4 and 5 (Course Organization, and Assessment):

> 3(a) Produce a scheme of work to cover one term derived from a syllabus and written to facilitate assessment (eg in behavioural terms) to include an assessment specification; and
>
> 3(b) Produce a detailed lesson plan. [Together 4 per cent][15]

As a means of providing a reliable comparison between centres the 'CGLI coursework' element worked admirably. Much pressure built up among assessors during the next few years for the element to be increased to 50 per cent, a principle agreed to in 1981; though the general feeling of the subject committee was against this. Thus the purposes of the 65 per cent 'College-devised coursework' element, encouraging the centres to cater imaginatively for all the specialisms likely to be found among their groups, were not fully realized.

The 'CGLI-devised coursework' was not only increased as a proportion of the programme. Renamed the 'Core', it came to include twelve items, covering each of the Aims more comprehensively. Success in the core requirements could be taken as symptomatic of success in the entire course, for the core left nothing untouched. It was accompanied by copious notes on the purposes and recommended methods of treatment of the twelve assignments, to include as before folder work, practical and other test exercises. Specifications A and B disappeared in favour of a single-grid Specification of Coursework, now scored off to identify the actual core assignments; their precise recommended rating (in terms of 'operating level'—a threefold hierarchy of abstraction) were in the suggested proportions of:

A Knowledge recall level [20 per cent of assignments]

B Understanding and application at simple levels [20 per cent]

C Application showing mastery and thinking; affecting behaviour, planning, organising, reasoning. [60 per cent]

Each of the twelve tasks was allocated an ABC rating and a marks value, these totalling 500 points. The other 500 points were reserved for a set of 'College' assignments; it was suggested that there should be a total of perhaps eight of these, integrated with the core but continuing, as before, to cater for the special interests and requirements of individual centres. A great deal of information was provided for tutors on how they should handle and score the core assignments; virtually no guidance was provided on the creation and rating of the college assignments. That was wholly a matter for discussion and agreement between tutor and assessor.

An exhaustive list was provided of the sorts of assignment techniques and devices available for consideration for folder work, practical and other tests, over seventy items in all.

The notes encompassing all this ran to sixteen pages. Some argued that the simplicities aimed at during the feasibility study were again being dissipated. The 730 management group began putting out further 'Notes for Guidance' on teaching practice, and eventually on 'profiling', the 1980s vogue in assessment styles. Behind the drive was awareness of an impending radical shift in the general examination policy of the Institute, long-term and not yet formulated. 'Competence based assessment' was the coming key concept.

Indeed the Institute's policy committee for education and training did make a decision 'to use competence as the basis of schemes'. While advisory committees and subject committees would remain 'in control of their own schemes', they would now have the opportunity of incorporating into them 'elements which are common with other subject areas and described in a standard format. This will improve candidates' opportunities for access, progress and transfer but says nothing about how the schemes are presented or taught within providing institutions.'

A research project was commissioned from Huddersfield Polytechnic 'which would analyse the training needs of tutors, teachers, supervisors and instructors in further and continuing education'. The research project would involve an 'analysis of existing provision; a listing of common role elements; proposals for competence-based modules and performance-based assessment for use in future schemes'. The project would take five years—or more. 'It should be emphasised,' concluded the record, 'that this exercise will not in any way affect or replace existing development work [on 330 or 731] which the Advisory Committee is currently overseeing.'[16]

Competence doctrine affected the thinking behind revisions of the 730 scheme made in 1981 and 1986. Two effects of the 1981 revision soon became apparent—an obsession of tutors with the 'numbers game' and consequent agonizing discussions about the scores of borderline candidates; and an equally obsessive fragmenting of the task assessments according to the narrowest bands of the 'Aims' grid. It might be observed that the 730 planners were only experiencing the inevitable conflict that must always set in when a relatively rigid system of 'external' assessment gives place to a more devolved one. The conflict is between those anxious to promote professional 'freedom' at the delivery end, and those apprehensive for uniformity of standards, and those among the practitioners lacking confidence in their own competence to make judgements. The temptation when the change is made is to lay on too many conditions and safeguards, with the result that ultimate objectives get lost.

This evolving approach in 730 was a positive response to the demand of new tutors for 'more guidance' and to the concern of assessors about irregularities of practice they found in the field, some advocating a veritable new straight-jacket for 730. It also satisfied those who had been unhappy about dropping the automatic, because numerical, scoring represented by the examination. Nevertheless these internal disturbances did not check demand for the course: from 2,764 in 1981, entries rose to 4,257 in 1985.

7

Agents of Change: James and Haycocks

The James Report of 1972 on *Teacher Education and Training* was quite different in scope and emphasis from previous enquiries into this controversial subject. The Committee was appointed by Margaret Thatcher, then secretary of state at the Department of Education and Science, where, as Hugo Young puts it, she 'was put in charge of one of the fastest-expanding budgets in the public sector and showed not the smallest inclination to curtail its growth.'[1]

Teacher training was high on the educational agenda. The substantial changes in the education of teachers in England since 1945 had been largely dictated by the need to cope with post-war school-population growth and in the development of comprehensive schooling. Patterns of training, though greatly expanded and secularized after McNair, were still conceived in terms of the old division between 'elementary' and 'grammar school' teaching, the elementary group, much larger, coming through the training colleges with only a minority taking degrees, and the rest taking the one-year postgraduate course provided by the university education departments. The alternative BEd approach, recently introduced, was beginning to make some progress. The James Committee was asked 'to investigate the content and organisation of courses' of teacher training and to look at the traditional segregation of intending teachers from 'students who have not chosen their careers' and, in the light of its findings, to make recommendations on the future roles of the various institutions involved.[2]

The committee took the line that further education lay within its purview, that in the same measure that the quality of teachers affected the education of school pupils, it affected too that of post-school students, adolescent and adult. The training of teachers for further education was of little overt public concern; the McNair Committee had barely noticed the need. Since 1946 and the founding of the Bolton Technical Teachers' College, and 1953 when the City and Guilds technical teacher's certificate programme had started, there had in fact been considerable development of training facilities, but of the 60,000 full-time teachers in further education, a contemporary estimate was that 'the four colleges have only trained 12 per cent of practising FE teachers. Many more had followed alternative but not specialised courses, but over 70 per cent remain totally untrained.'[3] By comparison, practically all 330,000 teachers in maintained schools were certificated. Attention within the James Committee to further-education issues was presumably ensured by the presence of the director general of the City and Guilds of London Institute; indeed a number of important recommendations in the eventual report did bear on the subject.[4]

The radical argument put forward in the report comprehended further education in a manner not conceived in earlier schemes for teacher education. James expounded the principle of a 'three-cycle' system. The first cycle encompassed a sound, basic, background education lasting for two years beyond school, shared as far as possible with those who had no intention of becoming teachers. The second cycle would be a phase of 'initial', pre-service professional education. The third cycle was continued training and development available to all teachers in-service, which would shade off into what is now known as 'staff development', and would continue through the career.

It was envisaged that a proportion of further education teachers would be trained within the existing pattern of 'second cycle' type courses already available in the colleges of education (technical), and that education departments in polytechnics might widen their vision and begin to make a contribution in this field.[5]

The main attack, however, should be from a different direction. 'All FE teachers in full-time service should have the right to third cycle facilities on a scale not less than that suggested above for teachers in primary and secondary education.' The James Report continues:

> Very many teachers for FE are recruited from other occupations and bring their accumulated experience of industry, commerce and the public service to their work in further education. In most cases, it would be unreasonable to expect them to undertake full-time courses of pre-service training, on students' grants in place of the salary they have been receiving hitherto. Instead they should have the opportunities to take professional training after their entry and, as soon as possible, they should be formally required to do so. The practical problem of immediately introducing compulsory training for all new entrants to FE teaching would be formidable, and its scope and application must initially be limited. As a first step, only entrants proposing mainly to teach 16–19 year old age groups should be obliged to train and the amount of training might have to be quite restricted. They might be required to take, during the first two years of service, training courses amounting to not less than three months full-time or the equivalent, and wherever possible such courses should include an induction period of not less than three or four weeks full-time. As more training courses were made available, the requirement for these teachers could be gradually extended to the equivalent of a second cycle course (ie, a year based on a training institution, followed by a year of practical experience with regular release for further training) during the first five years.[6]

Here the Report was taking up suggestions of the Russell Report of 1966, and then going further—proposing systematic measures of third-cycle provision that would ultimately allow for the training of all existing full-time staff of the colleges within a wide network of training facilities for all teachers. A key feature was to be the setting up, often in polytechnics and colleges of further education, of 'professional centres', maintained by local authorities with 'some full-time staff as well as making appropriate use of the part-time services of LEA advisers and teachers from schools, FE colleges and professional institutions'.[7] Russell took the view, broadly speaking, that the development of training facilities should be left with the colleges of education (technical), who would reach their clients by means of 'out-centre' provision, of the type pioneered by Huddersfield and Garnett. Opinion in some of the technical teacher colleges was shifting strongly towards the idea of 'in-service' if not 'third cycle' training as more effective than the one-year pre-service course. The head of the education department at Garnett was reported as saying that in-service training based on the extramural centres was

> more rewarding than pre-service training. 'They [the teachers in training] have got over the shock of facing a class and now they are really interested, demanding theoretical justification for what they are doing.' The teachers were receiving training on the job, without loss of salary and without having to spend time away from home; they derived extra benefit from the mingling of people from a wide range, with a variety of previous qualifications and professional backgrounds. Thus they acquired a shared identity as teachers rather than remaining 'supermarket managers or sailors who happen to be teaching'.[8]

James did not have much to say about part-time teachers. The third-cycle facilities which were envisaged in the report, especially the professional centres, would be able readily to provide measures of training for part-time teachers, almost exclusively a further education problem. Such part-timers as were employed in the schools were, by then, almost wholly under regulation as to requirements of training, experience and qualification. 'The present pattern of part-time training courses for part-time teachers should continue to grow where necessary to meet the demand.'

For the time being, little attention was given to James's recommendations on further education, though they were the subject of an entire section of *Education: a framework for expansion*, Mrs Thatcher's White Paper of December 1972. The general thrust of the recommendations was accepted, but so far as further education was concerned, the order was 'Steady as she goes'. There were, however, two clear declarations of principle:

> The Government accept that a much higher proportion of those teaching in further education should receive initial training—either before or after taking up appointment—and that they should have opportunities for further training in their careers....
>
> The Government do not consider that the required expansion could be based on the four existing colleges of education (technical) alone; they see a clear need both to encourage the polytechnics and perhaps some other

> further education institutions to share in the training process and to give greater emphasis to regional considerations in planing training. These issues will be pursued in consultation with those concerned.[9]

The ideas propagated by the James Report and the White Paper had a considerable impact on the development of education in general and teacher training in particular. The effect might have been more radical still but for two counter-currents. One was the departure of Mrs Thatcher from the Department of Education and Science in 1973 and, more serious, the 'Oil Crisis' of the same year and the consequent financial cuts. The years 1970 to 1973 had seen expansion, (not least in further education) with continued growth envisaged. After 1973, no secretary of state for Education, Labour or Tory, had the necessary latitude. And of course the James proposals all signified increased expenditure. They would require further mobilization of existing institutions and the creation of new training networks; bringing in as 'trainers' larger numbers of experienced teachers and officers of local and regional authorities; more generous arrangements for releasing teachers to attend courses and to undertake higher qualifications.

In the further education field there was yet another sliding away from good intentions. Extension of the 'colonial outpost' system by the technical teacher colleges continued steadily, and a Further Education sub-committee was set up by the newly created Advisory Committee on the Supply and Training of Teachers (ACSTT). But for the time being, nothing basically changed—except that CGLI 730 and a variety of other arrangements for induction and training of part-time teachers continued apace, benefiting also large numbers of full-time teachers in further education for whom no more substantial alternative was available.

The Haycocks proposals—Haycocks I: full-time teachers

The Further Education sub-committee of ACSTT was constituted in October 1973, 'to consider and advise the main committee on policy for the training of teachers in establishments of further education in England

and Wales'; its chairman was Professor Norman Haycocks. The group completed its first task, on the training of full-time teachers, by June 1975, and the report was printed forthwith. It was not issued until November 1977 under cover of Departmental Circular 11/77, the *Training of Teachers for Further Education.*[10]

The reasons for the delay are obscure: it may have been conventional fears that precipitate publication might have adverse effects on recruitment; or perhaps apprehensions at the DES that the Treasury's attitude would not be co-operative. It was recognized, however, that after the lobbying and raised expectations of recent years the Haycocks proposals could not simply be ignored. Accordingly, the report was kept under wraps until there could be some agreement in the Department—and doubtless with the Treasury—as to what exactly might be done. Circular 11/77 announced that the secretary of state (Mrs Shirley Williams) 'regards the proposals as worthy of support in principle and would wish an early start made on implementing them, so far as this is possible within the limit of existing resources'.

This first Haycocks report, made twenty-six recommendations across the main issues already identified by Lord James's committee, and added ten headings of its own. The first of these, under the heading 'Training Requirement', began:

> Not later than 1981 there should be a training requirement for all new entrants to full-time teaching in further education, who have less than three years full-time equivalent teaching experience. This requirement will be met by those who have satisfactorily completed a course of pre-service training.... All other entrants must take a systematic induction/training course.[11]

A number of detailed recommendations are worth mentioning. There would be planning for 'a modest growth' of some 1,700 additional places in pre-service training. Induction programmes for newly-joined staff should gradually be developed to the level recommended in the James Report. Inexperienced entrants should be given restricted timetables and granted systematic day- and block-release for professional training. Opportunities should be provided for a 'significant proportion (perhaps a third or so) of the new entrants to go on to a further year's study' within their first four years of service, and this should 'lead to a certificate awarded by a university or the CNAA', to signify 'qualified teacher status'.

Several other issues were raised under the heading of 'Validation': the proliferation of validating bodies was to be avoided and 'a national forum should be established for consultation' between those already involved. There should also be 'an appropriate body in each region (either an institution or an inter-institutional committee), to secure the co-ordination of arrangements so that they may be acceptable for validation, and to ensure that where devolution occurs, it does not lead to differing standards, fragmentation and lack of continuity in the studies taken'. Training undertaken in the first (induction) year should 'contribute some credit' towards a certificate in education. This would be a matter for the validating bodies, as would the question of 'possible credit for qualifications by other bodies'. A common view on such recognition would be important.

Ideally release for 'in-service training should be more generous for teachers in further education than for teachers in schools', and a figure of five per cent of the FE teaching force was suggested. The regional advisory councils for further education should be asked to draw up plans for their area, based on the recommendations of the report. A position of trained 'professional tutor' should be created in all colleges, normally to be filled by a full-time member of staff; the training colleges (technical) should set up pilot schemes 'to examine further the roles of professional tutors' and the appropriate 'training objectives' to be set.

The report ended as it began: 'The aim should be to reach the target for each element in the programme of expansion of training for teachers in further education by 1981.' This date was already obsolete by November 1977 when the report was issued with Circular 11/77. The circular was a masterpiece of qualified decisions and hedged bets, but it constituted the first authoritative statement that something was to be done about the shortage of trained teachers in further education. Those proposals from the Haycocks Report specifically identified as 'worthy of support in principle' and on which 'an early start' might be made, included: training for entrants with less than three years' service; an induction programme for those who had attended a full year's course; and opportunities for a proportion of those completing the introductory course to have further training that 'might lead to a formal qualification'.[12]

The Government's declared expenditure plans ruled out the possibility of an increase in the staffing of further and higher education. The DES thought 'that it should be possible to make some progress towards a target of 3 per cent for in-service training', but doubted whether the proposal could be implemented by 1981. Priority should, therefore, be given to 'the institution of systematic induction arrangements for teachers without previous training or experience'. The regional advisory councils were to be invited to draw up plans by September 1978, and further consideration would be given to making induction training compulsory by 1981. It was hardly a clarion call to determined action, and the circular contained no hint, in Cantor and Roberts' words, that the Department had any 'clear-cut policy for the further education sector as a whole and, in particular, for non-advanced further education'.[13]

The regional advisory councils took up the challenge with mild enthusiasm, and in conjunction with the polytechnics and colleges of higher education in their areas began work on plans along the lines proposed by the Haycocks Committee. College and local authorities, however, soon discovered that the idea of a year's introductory course which did not end in a qualification was a vain hope. Staff could only be persuaded to attend courses leading to a teacher's certificate, and although numbers were small at first, a network of day-release training courses was soon in being. Into the 1980s, this 'in-service' system of training further education teachers, so often talked about, actually got into motion, and began to make inroads on the backlog of teachers without training.

Haycocks II: part-time teachers

The two subsequent Haycocks reports were not printed or issued by HMSO. Duplicated copies were sent out to LEAs, RACs, establishments of further education and a variety of other institutions and interested bodies by the direct (though presumably permitted) action of ACSTT itself. Even so, one of them, 'Haycocks II' dealing with the training of adult and part-time further education teachers, came to be regarded, as a sort of doctrinal breakthrough.[14] 'Haycocks III', on training teachers for management in further education, also helped to foster concern for responsibilities long neglected.[15] Both reports were remarkable; probably no government-sponsored body had ever before directed so much attention in such unfamiliar directions.

Most of the work on Haycocks II was done by a 'Working Group' appointed by the sub-committee in October 1975. The report was circulated in March 1978, a few months after Haycocks I. The working group had been asked 'to consider the future pattern of training of adult education and part-time further education teachers', taking account of the 'extent to which it might be necessary to group these teachers', the nature of the training required, organization and validation of courses and 'the provision of teacher trainers and supervisors'. Any recommendations were to be related 'to the future pattern of training for full-time further education teachers', and 'the awareness that additional financial resources might not be available for a period and that a pattern of training was needed which ensured the best use of existing resources'.

As to the teachers under consideration, they came in great variety, as did the subjects they offered, the classes they taught, the institutions in which they worked, and the conditions of service to which they were subjected. In December 1976 there were reckoned to be some 151,000 part-time lecturers and teachers employed by LEAs (excluding full-time teachers employed as part-timers, but including about 40,000 teaching in schools)—a surprisingly large number, giving 'a figure of some 130,000 part-time teachers in further and adult education employed by local authorities'. In addition there were some 10,000 part-time teachers of adults employed by government-assisted 'Responsible Bodies', principally university extramural departments and districts of the Workers' Educational Association.

Throughout Haycocks II is an implicit view that the training of part-time teachers in further education, generally thought of as 'vocational', should run together with the training of part-time teachers of 'non-vocational' adult classes. Existing arrangements for the training of part-time teachers were shown to be in the hands of various bodies and uncoordinated. In addition to the small enrolment of part-time teachers in the certificate courses of the technical training colleges (mainly Huddersfield's), four main schemes were identified: 'by far the most widespread', that of the CGLI 730 programme (at present being reviewed to see how it might better meet the needs of adult education teachers), catering for some 3,000 candidates annually; Associateship of the College of Preceptors; schemes of the Royal Society of Arts, mainly for teachers of office arts and the teaching of English as a foreign language; and various LEA and RAC schemes for both vocational and non-vocational part-time teachers in their own areas.

The training suggested for part-time staff in further and adult education was ingenious and simple, clearly deriving from schemes already developed by several RACs (notably the Southern and East Midlands). The proposals came under four main headings. Suitable induction should be arranged for part-time staff; it was as important as that for full-time staff, and being similar in content could perhaps run with schemes designed for the latter. Secondly, a three-stage system of training was proposed. Stage 1 should provide a brief initiation into basic teaching and contact skills, preferably preceding the part-timer's first 'live performance'. Stage 2 should cover the further development of essential pedagogic skills, 'content and treatment to be related to the age groups and objectives of the students with which the teachers in training are concerned'. Stages 1 and 2 should include some 100 hours of course attendance and at least thirty hours of teaching practice. The course should be taken by all newly appointed teachers not already qualified as teachers in schools. The course should be organized in modules, to allow, among other things, for the differential treatment of teachers with different types of experience, subject needs, and varying intentions and expectations as to ultimate qualifications.

The crucial issue of how to persuade the part-timers to take up such training (like that of attendance at induction courses) was avoided. (One anomaly of most of the existing schemes for part-time teachers has been the requirement, in most local authority areas, that the clients pay their own course and examination fees. And not the least impressive feature of the CGLI and RSA schemes over the years has been the enormous entry of people willing to put in the time and money to gain training and modest qualification—yet another instance of the practitioners subsidizing public service.)

Stage 3 was envisaged as an extended course of some 300 hours, to serve those who wished to go even further, for example to full teacher certification. To allow for this, all the stages together 'should be fairly comparable in the demands they make to the courses for full time-staff described in the Sub-Committee's first report, and should reach comparable standards.... In appropriate cases it should be possible for part-time teachers to transfer (possibly by means of a bridging course) to the full-time teachers training scheme.'

This way of thinking touched many sensitive spots. The limited sympathy and dialogue between the main custodians of part-time teacher qualification schemes at the lower levels and the potential providers of Stage 3-type courses, (polytechnics, colleges of higher education and universities), had resulted hitherto in a lack of overt correspondence between schemes at different levels. This had always made life difficult for students who sought to progress, carrying forward with them training and qualifications already gained. Generally speaking, the colleges of education (technical), though ostensibly willing to make allowances, were not keen to allow 'credits' and argued uniformly that entrants to their full-time courses coming along these more irregular routes 'preferred to do the whole course'. (In fact, they had little alternative on account of organizational and grant considerations.)

The third heading of Haycocks II concerned 'Further Training'; here it was noted, 'Part-time teachers like their full-time colleagues, require opportunities to update and upgrade their subject knowledge and skills and provision should be made for this.' This came to be recognized as a desirable element in the 'staff development' arrangements of institutions, but remained inadequately provided for. Finally, came the idea of 'Classroom Counselling', which suffered a similar fate; the 'mentors' suggested in the report, people on the staff 'qualified by knowledge and experience' and given a specific responsibility to guide new part-timers, and especially to break into 'the isolation of the part-time teacher', so 'often a major contributor to unsuccessful teaching', have remained in short supply.

The report contained a number of other interesting and potentially useful suggestions, but most with an element of wishful thinking. There was, for example, the attempt to deal with the particular complication represented by the existence of a small but definite body of full-time staff in non-vocational adult education. A pattern of training was suggested to meet their needs. The DES might help, it was suggested, by encouraging a network of training centres offering a proper geographical spread and professional content; this it could do 'through its control, under Further Education Regulations, 1975, of full time tutor appointments'. The local education authorities should recognize their responsibility to 'ensure the continued professional development' of full-time staff in adult education 'through supervision and through the provision of structured opportunities for consultation and exchange of experience'. Attention was also paid to 'The Training of Trainers': courses should be established, but only at institutions with an understanding of the skills and knowledge required. 'There are examples of the cooperation of university departments in this connection which have been highly successful.' Despite some progress since the report appeared, most of the problems remain.

Co-ordination and validation of courses required attention. It was in 'regional bodies' that connections between full-time and part-time course and certificate requirements could be discussed. Using experience and expertise already available, it should be possible to create 'a coherent hierarchy of courses, from induction for new part-time tutors up to the highest qualifications'. The sub-committee trusted that bodies validating courses for part-time teachers 'will give the most sympathetic consideration to allowing modules of training taken by part time teachers to give credit towards the Certificate.' There was a specific suggestion that universities and CNAA could accept responsibility for validating the highest level of courses proposed in the report. As for the intermediate stages, they 'might also be assessed and validated by bodies at present involved in the work, such as the City and Guilds of London Institute, regional bodies or local education authorities.'

The sub-committee was clear that 'goodwill and enthusiasm are already present; part-time staff are often prepared to devote their time to training and more experienced staff to help their colleagues.' Rather than demand (unrealistically) additional assistance, it suggested that 'Substantial resources are already being devoted to this task and the immediate problem is very largely one of directing these resources towards a scheme of training within which the many existing schemes might be coordinated.' Here, as in Haycocks I, came the demand for 'coherence', an idea which was not to prove entirely acceptable to the various bodies involved.

Haycocks III: training for management

Haycocks III appeared in August 1978, and like its predecessor was described as a 'discussion paper'. It proceeded logically from accepted arguments about the need to improve the competence of further education staff at all levels, full-time and part-time, in coping with developments, curricular, pedagogic and organizational. 'Management' was a matter of increasingly explicit concern among the higher ranks within institutions, and this was recognition of a point already made in general terms in the James Report.[16]

The burden of the Haycocks argument was that there ought to be a considerable stepping up of education for management in a service which in 1976/77 was spending more than £1,100 million. 'These figures suggest that, even in the most favourable economic circumstances, effective management is important; in conditions of economic stringency it is doubly so.'[17] The committee compiled a formidable list of the 'principal groups of people within further and adult education' for whom more provision was needed. It also drew attention to the peculiar situation of adult education staff with managerial functions, operating in a multitude of scattered and often ill-equipped centres, many of them employed on a part-time basis and without the institutional support taken for granted within colleges.

There ought to be some scope, thought the committee, for an increase in education for management within the 3 per cent allowance for in-service training recommended by Circular 11/77. The report states: 'We would regard the further training stage, after initial teacher training, as the most appropriate time for training in education management... it should be related to staff development generally, and this in itself will largely influence the question of timing.'[18]

Also coincident with the period of the Haycocks enquiries was the creation in January 1977 of the Further Education Curriculum Review and Development Unit (FEU, and now simply the Further Education Unit), the first body of its precise kind anywhere in education.[19] FEU's chief influence, especially through publications directed at teachers in further education, was an enlargement of understanding at classroom level of the processes of curriculum design. At the same time almost every issue taken up had a 'management' aspect to it, and much of the thinking outlined in Haycocks III was absorbed and developed by FEU.

The third Haycocks report mentioned various bodies with 'relevant interests' in management training for further education teachers, and among these appeared the City and Guilds of London Institute. The CGLI 'diplomas' (they are, in fact certificates) come into the picture here, awards belonging to what the Institute now calls its In-Service Courses for Teachers, grouped under the prospectus number 731. All minority awards having no organic connection with 730, they originated in 1973 with the creation of certificates in Programmed Learning, Number 731, and Achievement Testing, 732. Subsequent attempts to extend the range met with mostly discouraging results. Each new offering seems to have been taken up for a short time, satisfying the needs of a small clientele that had, presumably, been ponding up, then declining as the substantial syllabus demands of the courses began to be felt. None of the original schemes (as such) survived.

In the 731 series 'Further Education Administration', run between 1975 and 1979, the peak entry was sixty-four candidates in the second year of operation. 'Design and Management of Learning' ran once only in 1981 with seven candidates. None of the courses in this area can be said to have succeeded as promotional ventures, except perhaps 'Training the Handicapped'. They were born and killed off at a fairly rapid rate. Programmed learning, for instance, was already past its vogue before the examination in the subject was introduced. In December 1981 the CGLI National Advisory Committee considered the melancholy issue of very limited enrolments in nearly all the 731 courses: 'it was felt that though there had been considerable interest in specialist courses leading on from 730, the actual demand had been small because 731 courses had no relationship with other schemes available and did not receive any practical recognition.'[20] A year later the same concerns troubled the advisory committee regarding a plan to introduce 725, the 'Certificate in Direct Training', supported by the Manpower Services Commission as a 730 equivalent for direct trainers in commerce and industry.[21]

What this particular discussion illustrates is the significance of 'Coherence', mentioned in all the Haycocks reports. Inertia at the DES derived from an earlier lack of conviction as to the necessity of a policy on training, fears about possible effects on recruitment, and later, doubtless, awareness that funds would not be forthcoming. 'Haycocks', for all its diffidence and caution, did operate at the public level and must be regarded as a landmark in a territory notorious for its lack of charted routes. It can be argued that the Haycocks Committee underestimated the disparateness of existing arrangements and the strength of proprietorial feelings on the part of the various bodies. Yet the issue of coherence had been raised, and it was remitted to the Further Education sub-committee of the Advisory Committee for the Supply and Education of Teachers (ACSET), the body created in 1981 to take over from ACSTT.

'A Coherent System' [22]

Bearing in mind the conditions of all formal discussion of these issues—the avoidance of additional expenditure and the need to build on what had already been created—it was unlikely that the ACSET sub-committee would have much scope for originality. Haycocks had taken the line that 'substantial resources' were already being applied to in-service teacher education schemes, but no analysis of these 'resources' was ever attempted. The ACSET sub-committee simply carried on and focussed most of its attention on means of relating 'Haycocks' schemes for training part-timers to those for training full-timers, with the intention of dispelling the confusion of existing arrangements for the validation and certification. While it was necessary that Stage 1 and Stage 2 certificates (of Haycocks II) should be freely available to the majority who had no wish to go further, the conditions of award should be consistent with the requirements of the Certificate of Education (Further Education).[23]

The committee recognized the City and Guilds contribution, but seemed to take the view that the substantive Stage 1 and Stage 2 courses were those being increasingly provided by LEAs, and by RACs on their behalf.[24] In fact, by this time CGLI 730 was the main course being taken up nationally at the lower levels, though the two stages had not yet been differentiated in the scheme. The ACSET committee's report mentioned other bodies offering 'teaching qualifications available for part-time teachers', including the Royal Society of Arts, the Keep Fit Association and the Pre-School Play Group Association 'to name but a few'. Of these others only the teachers' certificates of the Royal Society of Arts deserved such listing; but it was true that several bodies were at this time seeking to mount the 'teachers' qualification' bandwagon.

There are several references in the same report to Stage 3 proposals having been made in some regions, to lead to the award of a Certificate in Education (FE).[25] In fact, few such projects ever got beyond the proposal stage, mostly for the reasons that they referred almost exclusively to adult non-vocational clients, and there were too few of these to warrant anything more, at best, than a 'one-off' programme. One such scheme was introduced by the University of Nottingham, but it failed through lack of support and, in the absence of any significant pressure group, lack of recognition.

Up to that time holders of Stages 1 and 2 (or CGLI 730) awards who sought alternative entry to the one-year pre-service course in the technical teacher colleges found it difficult to negotiate realistic 'remission', and found themselves unavoidably doing the whole course. The new type of certificate courses proliferating under Haycocks arrangements for serving full-timer teachers, and the gradual rationalization of provision for part-timers at regional level, promised to make transfer notionally much easier. The ACSET sub-committee concluded that the key to both commonality of curriculum and acceptability of lower stage certificates in a 'coherent' scheme was the adoption of regionally based schemes of moderation in which the regional advisory councils would come to agreement with other bodies concerned, notably the City and Guilds, and 'the institution(s) providing the Certificate in Education (FE)' on a recognized process. In discussing this, the committee noted that 'some part-time teachers, and their employing local authorities, prefer to make use of the CGLI 730 courses rather than the regional schemes.'[26] The main problem was the reconciling of RACs, usually influenced in their thinking by polytechnic staff now involved regionally in Haycocks I provision, with the dominant if not fully recognized 'regional moderating teams' of the CGLI, custodians of a far more systematic programme and possessors of a developed expertise that no other group could match. There were also problems of differing outlooks among the RACs.

The sub-committee's overall recommendation was to 'carry on with the good work', for it seemed that most of the sorts of development proposed by Haycocks I and II, and to a very limited extent III, were now going ahead. There had been a substantial expansion of 'day-release' in-service courses for full-time teachers in further education, achieved within a matter of four years,[27] and more 'coherent' than anything that had preceded it. Reinforcing the impression that coherence was being achieved was the fact, too, that the majority of schemes, were validated by CNAA, many of them submitted through the agency of the relevant

RACs. The strongest recommendation was that each RAC should set up a regional forum to consider and co-ordinate schemes, promote commonality of curriculum, and facilitate the 'possible recognition of a wide variety of teaching qualifications for part-time teachers'. Another was that the RACs 'should invite the City and Guilds of London Institute and other bodies providing training qualifications for FE teachers to consider whether and in what way they might participate in regional arrangements.'

Accompanying the submission of the ACSET report to the Secretary of State for Education was a suggestion that 'direct funding be made available to meet the cost of the release to initial in-service training of all untrained, inexperienced new entrants to FE teaching'. In reply Sir Keith Joseph mentioned that the government was already making substantial 'financial assistance' to local authorities to encourage them to release FE teachers. The minister undertook to write to 'validating bodies and other interested parties commending to them the case for rationalization and inviting them to explore the prospects for a more coherent system and to consider whether there would be merit in establishing within each region as appropriate a broad representative forum'.[28] This seems to have marked the moment when the DES turned formally against the idea of a 'National Forum'. In the light of later developments, especially NCVQ and NVQ, this was not a very rational decision—if decision it was.

Management and change

One more sequel to Haycocks remains. One problem with which the newly formed ACSET immediately involved itself was that of education management, reflecting something of the government's aggressive concern with the more efficient management of public services. Sir Keith had already 'accepted the need to extend and improve management training in schools, and the need for central funding to support it.'[29] Now it was the turn of further education.

The sub-committee for further education appointed in 1981 an Education Management Group with the remit of continuing from where Haycocks III had left off. In June 1982, when the group made its preliminary report, it was further instructed to 'prepare a document of advice on training for educational management', 'developments in management training since 1978, the findings of relevant research and the view of those in the field'.[30] The tone of these instructions, and of the resulting report sent to the Secretary of State in June 1983, was more hard edged than anything to be found in Haycocks III.

While there was much unanimity in the evidence sent in to the committee 'concerning the needs for more education management training and development at all levels of education', there was not much consensus on how it should be done. The group's own summary was clear and quotable: 'colleges of all types and sizes are already subject to equal or greater pressures than schools because they are, in many ways, closer to the immediate effects of change in industry and society. They must help to translate basic educational skills into personal competence at the workface or into coping skills for job-seeking and job-creation and different adult lifestyles.' Closer links between schools and colleges were needed if there was to be 'an effective and economically practical continuum of personal and vocational development through 16–19 and onwards into adult life.... Much of this is long overdue and its potential will only be realised through training and re-training at management level throughout the system.'[31]

The burden of the group's recommendations was that in view of the speed of change further education institutions must take on some of the techniques and outlook of private enterprise. Furthermore 'Training and development for management are an integral part of the conduct of many organisations of similar scale and complexity; in further education relatively little recognition has been afforded to these needs.'[32] The analysis offered in the report was systematic and clearly informed by knowledge of the huge variety of institutions, constitutions, structures and needs within the system. Such complexity must be dealt with comprehensively and against a background of confusion and 'no agreed national framework or pattern of management training and development'. What was needed was something quite drastic and radical: 'management training at all levels in further education, although the duration and training should vary according to the role and stage of development of the individual'. Urgent action was required.

The Group was acutely aware of limitations on resources: 'The considerable potential, ability and resources already in the system, needs stimulating into action to promote coordination and planning... to create a rational and effective framework for development, with a limited input of additional resources, injected at the right point.'[33] Then followed recommendations totally different in style from those of Haycocks. There ought to be 'planning and development for staff development in each FE institution.... Each college should establish a management development policy and programme and should not be entirely dependent on individual initiative and choice.'[34] Staff Development had arrived.

The Secretary of State should 'discuss with LEA's, as a matter of urgency, the establishment of coordinating machinery.' It might be based on the RAC (a year or two before this the same government was considering the abolition of these because they were 'quangos'). Other interested parties should be brought in to create 'a national framework of facilities for training in education management to apply to the whole field of further, higher and adult and continuing education', which would cater for 'effective in-house training', award-bearing and shorter courses, modular patterns to take account of varied needs and prior experience, assessment related to credit accumulation, the 'continual development of management skills', and information and resource banks. It was a tall order; yet there was more.

A number of quite categorical recommendations followed. A minimum of 3 per cent of all colleges' staffs should attend an external course during the next three years, preferably from or just below the level of head of department; a total of some 8,000 people would receive 'an appropriate form of management development' during the period. The Secretary of State should 'be asked to support and encourage the improvement of training for education management... by additional funding', a specific grant sufficient to guarantee the three-year programme and to stimulate local and other initiatives. Staff benefiting from the release scheme should be involved in organizing and conducting 'in-house' provision. Urgent attention needed to be given to the 'training of trainers'.

These recommendations were remarkable on three counts. First was the principle that an in-service development network should rely almost wholly for its effectiveness on the contributions of existing, non-specialist practitioners, the people who know from experience what is needed and can be done. Secondly, there was the notion of a joint approach to the problems of management training for adult and vocational further education teachers within the same scheme (an issue to which we return in the last chapter). Thirdly came the demand for a measure of direct funding.

Not many reports coming into the DES in recent years can have been quite so hard-hitting. This one contained clear evidence that its authors appreciated the nature of the 'management function' in further education better than any body that had previously deliberated on the issues, and that they understood above all the orientation of Sir Keith Joseph's thinking, and doubtless that of the government as a whole. That the minister was moved by the force and cogency of the presentation is indubitable; the main consequence was the invention of the GRIST initiative (Grant Related In-Service Training)—the chanelling of funds in effect directly to colleges for the kind of development work outlined in the report. This, along with the In-Service Education and Training initiative which followed the ACSET report on a 'Coherent System', had a major effect on the further education training scene.

8

The New 730

'The Re-structured Scheme, (now referred to as CGLI 730, Further and Adult Education Teacher's Certificate) [is] from September 1986 the substantive scheme for the course.' So announced the preamble to the 'Course Outline' which served in lieu of a printed prospectus for nearly two years. There were few changes when the scheme came to be printed in its familiar pink booklet form.[1]

Long before the finally agreed course outline was circulated, the 'New 730', the title by which it came to be known, was already in common use, those colleges adjudged by 'Moderators' (the new title of the Assessors) able and ready to adopt the new scheme having been allowed to do so. In 1985 the number enrolled for 730 as a whole was 5,161 in 179 centres and in 1986 it was 5,810 in 188 centres.[2] It was the largest part-time teacher education programme in existence, and its recruitment was overwhelmingly part-time. In 1986 only 366 'practising full-time teachers' from further education (6.3 per cent) enrolled; this category of student had now clearly been drained off by the growth of INSET, and the opportunities to take a certificate of education course by day-release study, and at someone else's expense. On the other hand the figure of 316 on the adult education side who were identified as full-time teachers (5.4 per cent) is problematic, for nothing like this number could have been full-time employees in adult education: most of them were no doubt serving schoolteachers who were seeking qualification in this very different field of education.

There are other interesting revelations in the analysis of the 1986 enrolments. Part-time and intending part-time teachers in further education made up just over half, at 53.4 per cent; nearly 10 per cent were teachers in adult education, practising and intending. The rest, 29.3 per cent, were 'training personnel' from the armed forces, commerce, industry and the public services. Of these, 1,043 or 18 per cent of the total, were from 'public service', the majority of them almost certainly nursing, dental and other medical tutors, since the English National Board governing the training of nurses had now accepted CGLI 730 as a standard qualification for nursing staff with tutorial functions.

The analysis also shows that at least four different versions of the 730 course were now on offer. A majority were of one year's duration, the students cramming the demanding attendance and work commitments into some nine months of a single year. The view of the Institute had always been that the course should be run over two years, to allow for easier planning of teaching practice for those not in post and for the greater 'maturation' that set in during the second year. However, many students were 'in a hurry', especially those from the public services and no bar was ever put up against the running of one-year courses. Some colleges offered both one and two-year courses at the same time, and some forty ran only the two-year course.

Another variant, four- and five-term courses (5.3 per cent of the whole), were made possible by the Institute's new policy of accepting entries for the course at any of the four regular examination entry dates in the year. A main reason, however, for the shift to four or five terms was the introduction of the Stage 1/Stage 2 course pattern. It was becoming convenient for colleges to enrol their Stage 1 students separately from those who intended to go on to Stage 2, though to begin with there were administration problems and extra expense for the students, since both the Institute and the local authorities had no provision for such a separation of parts of the course. One factor making it more convenient to run Stage 1 separately, preferably during a preliminary term, was the increase in the total length of the 730 course, from 150 to 170 hours. During the years 1985 to 1987 there was confusion as the scheme settled down to its new format; eventually a minimum of four terms became a common pattern.

The number of candidates appearing for assessment (still formally called 'examination') in 1985 was 4,257 compared with an enrolment of 5,161, a drop-out of 904, or 17.5 per cent. This type of statistic had been collected by the Institute for some time to demonstrate, among other things, what had happened to the failure-rate. Technically this now ran at 2 to 3 per cent a year, a figure which caused concern in the higher councils of the Institute when it first appeared, accustomed as they were to 20 and 30 per cent failure rates, often regarded as the infallible indicator that standards were being maintained. Now those who did not think they would succeed, or who genuinely wished to take longer over their studies, just did not enter. Moderators frequently noted that such people commonly reappeared in classes and took the certificate a year later.

Key features of the New 730 were its flexibility, ubiquitousness (for it was now possible to run 'one-off' or occasional programmes in special locations other than LEA colleges) and the 'independence' of 730 courses from close CGLI control. The award no longer depended on a prescribed syllabus. 'Aims and Objectives', still intact though somewhat rationalized and enlarged, were relegated to an appendix and became 'advisory' rather than 'obligatory'. Replacing both of these prescriptive formulations was a brief statement of 'Purposes' at the beginning of the course outline. The main 'task' requirements of the course (for the programme was now unambiguously represented as a task-oriented list of assessment requirements rather than a scheme of instruction) were set out in detail, some obligatory, some optional. Similarly, advice rather than prescription was emphasized in the prospectus.

Actual design, management and formal assessment of students on 730 courses (for there was no longer a centrally determined '730 course'), lay wholly in the hands of college tutors and tutorial teams. Control for the purposes of recognition and award was allocated to area moderators, themselves subject to the guidance of regional moderators and they to the authority of the national moderator. As the whole approach became officially regionalized, new sanctions and controls meant that the system was almost wholly absorbed into the part-time teacher training arrangements of the RACs.

Towards 'Coherence'

This change was the result of the CGLI's response to the 'Coherence' doctrine from 1983 onwards. Sir Cyril English, the then Director General, had served on the ACSTT sub-committee on further education, and had committed the Institute in principle to the recommendations of all three Haycocks reports. The Institute was formally notified of the 'coherence' doctrine in a letter from the DES in September, 1984;[3] but in fact discussion on 'rationalization of schemes for ACSTT 1 and 2' had begun some time before that. A suggestion that 'serious consideration should be given to establishing a close relationship between 730 and the regional schemes for Stages 1 and 2' was put to the Institute's National Advisory Committee for Education Services in December, 1981.[4] The instigator, the senior HMI responsible for FE teacher training, returned to the subject the following year; he is reported as offering the official ACSET view:

> There are two main routes to Cert Ed (FE), ie, full-time or part-time, which are equally valid. With each there should be a common core curriculum with appropriate options to meet special needs/interests.... The Sub-Committee recognises a broad comparability between 730 and regional stages I and II.... Closer cooperation should be envisaged between validating bodies and this could lead to joint moderating systems for SI and SII, regional forums and collaborative arrangements between institutions to make best use of resources.[5]

As reported on this same occasion, the Institute had already informed the Secretary of ACSET that 'it did not consider itself the appropriate organisation to establish a national forum to attempt the rationalisation of ACSET schemes' though very willing to participate in discussions on such rationalization.

It was then suggested that further discussion might be sponsored by the Standing Conference of Regional Advisory Councils (SCRAC). Subsequently, the CGLI National Advisory Committee was informed that SCRAC would organize a 'conference of bodies providing schemes in teacher training'.[6] The conference took place shortly afterwards in June 1984 at the London Central Polytechnic but 'unfortunately CGLI had not been represented.... The conference was, in effect, a national forum and provided opportunity for an exchange of views and a review of the present structure of teacher training provision.' Its prime finding was the 'wide variety of provision for the different regions'.[7] Topics for further discussion would include, 'the training of trainers, the role of mentors and moderators, the position of the voluntary bodies [presumably including the CGLI] in national and regional provision and collaboration between all parties on the provision of training schemes'.

Unilateral action

It was evident that it would be some time before sufficient agreement was reached between all the contending parties for a coherent scheme to go forward. In the meantime, the problems of 730 remained, and it was decided that a restructuring should go ahead. Though much was now being made of regional Stages 1 and 2, and, at least notionally, Stage 3, CGLI 730 was still the major preference of students seeking part-time training. If 'rationalization' was the order of the day, then the CGLI had nothing to lose by setting about the business immediately, taking care to ensure that the new pattern would be flexible enough to allow for further adaptation as more broadly based agreement came. It was with such thoughts in mind that the Education subject committee took up the issue at its January meeting of 1984; a paper was presented recommending

> that consideration should be given, as a matter of some urgency, to the restructuring of the Further Education Teacher's Certificate... the current syllabus had remained virtually unchanged, in spite of alterations in assessment procedures, for well over ten years. Recent developments, in particular the ACSET 'Coherent system' paper had made it important that the position of the scheme in a national context should be reviewed. There was a need to respond to the requirements of Stage I schemes which fed into 730 and to the need for the scheme to lead easily into higher qualifications... a major revision of the syllabus was not necessary, [but] consideration should be given to the rearrangement of the scheme into three modules so

that it would correspond more easily to the Stage I/Stage II/specialisation provision.[8]

On the matter of leading 'easily into higher qualifications', there were certainly problems over the admission of 730 certificate holders to full training courses, in-service and pre-service, with credit for work already done. Each of the existing certificate of education schemes, usually negotiated independently of one another by a polytechnic with CNAA as the validating body, had its own formula for such admissions. Most operated on a 'grace and favour' basis: some making generous allowance for 730—a 'good 730', that was—thus laying a premium on the grading system; others took a very disobliging line, offering perhaps 'remission' or concession 'on merit', or perhaps nothing at all. In several of the regions 'bridging' courses had been introduced, but were often difficult to recruit, for across a region possible clients were widely dispersed, and it was difficult to gather them together for reasons of time as well as geography. Concessions where offered usually took the form of exemption from two, three or four of the earlier modules of a twelve-module course, mostly negotiated without any reference to 730 or other Stage 1/Stage 2 programmes and consequently not exhibiting much correspondence. One particular problem was that 730 made a point of 'covering the whole ground', as it was bound to do, for the majority of those who taking the certificate had no immediate intention of using it as a first stage of something more ambitious.

Those responsible for restructuring the 730 scheme recognized one prime difficulty: how to get effective dialogue going at all. Stage 3 courses were not well developed. LEA and RAC provision had scarcely advanced beyond locally devised Stage 1 courses, and these had a sometimes problematic relationship to the CGLI scheme. Stage 1 courses were intended chiefly for part-time adult education tutors, and tended to be more 'participative' than the typical 730 course; they were short, often generously funded, and led to an award which was often no more than an attendance certificate.

Unnecessary disagreements and partisanship complicated the relationship of two interest groups at the local level. On the one hand the '730 establishment', the course tutors and associated staff developers in the colleges, were strong in the knowledge that the majority of 'vocational' part-time teachers had an unchallengeable preference for the CGLI certificate scheme. On the other side stood the so-called 'non-vocational' adult education faction, dominated as often as not by 'county hall' advisers and organizers.

LEA critics claimed that, from the adult education point of view, the 730 scheme laid undue emphasis on written work; its insistence that applicants already have a technical qualification or an established record of teaching was also seen as inappropriate. When it was a question of moving on beyond Stage 1 where no Stage 2 course was available, there were complaints, mostly justified, that 730 tutors were reluctant to accept Stage 1 certificate-holders into the mainstream of the 730 course. This reluctance was at least partly due to the lack of correspondence between the two types of programme. For their part some of the LEA critics of 730 remained implacable. These messages from the field reinforced the view that the future for any new 730 scheme must be a 'coherent' one.

The proposals for restructuring which now emerged had a number of radical features. A statement of the purposes of the course proved itself to be more valuable than the traditional syllabus and it was suggested that the latter should be discarded altogether. Structuring according to 'aims and objectives' now seemed artificially divisive, and it was proposed that these should be relegated to an appendix in the scheme; henceforth learning tasks were to be designed and assessed in terms of the precise 'competencies' expected. Next, if the scheme was to be recast on the basis of a Stage 1 and Stage 2, each having a degree of self-sufficiency, it was not feasible to do it by cutting up an existing syllabus. Instead, a 'cyclical' approach was suggested, which would deal with the same skills and concepts at each stage but at different levels of treatment, deeper each time round.

There was also a reconsideration of the whole purpose of coursework exercises. It was argued that in the assessment of people who were or who would become teachers the work produced should represent their development *as teachers* and should preferably be usable for their own professional purposes. Accordingly the schedule of assignments was completely refashioned, and presented as a developmental sequence of tasks, incorporating three new, and key features. First there was to be a 'Teaching Study', a systematic file representing the student's learning experience *as a teacher* during the course. The 'Core Element' of this would include the output from the completion of ten standard obligatory coursework items, the same for all students, together with the assessment record (this replaced the former 'CGLI devised coursework element'). There would be another batch of tasks, 'related to the particular needs of the students attending each centre', constituting the 'Local Centre Element' of the course, intended among other things to satisfy the asserted needs of non-vocational adult education students, on whose behalf so much criticism had been levelled against 730. In the total valuation of this coursework, each element was to be equally weighted. To begin with, in the interests of maximum flexibility, tutors were not obliged to insist on the local centre element being presented as part of the Study, but in practice it came to be included as routine.

Secondly coursework and teaching practice, as a matter of principle, were to be integrated, which meant that so far as was reasonable and possible, teaching practice assignments and assessments were to be positively related to the development of the theoretical aspects of the course. Thus, 'TP crits' would no longer be simply ad hoc insertions in the record without any necessary reference to what had gone before. It was, of course, recognized that this was a counsel of perfection in the circumstances of part-time further education training. (Incidentally, no means of relating the old three elements of the course—coursework, teaching practice and examination—was ever devised. The best that could be done was to weight them equally.)

Thirdly, all assessment, for coursework (written, visual or spoken) and teaching practice was to be 'criterion referenced'. Tutors should systematically demonstrate—and discuss with their students as appropriate—the criteria on which their judgement was based. Among other things, this made the assessment more accessible to the Moderator. All the new conditions implied the abolition of grading, and that was for a time the most controversial aspect of the entire change.

During the summer of 1984 there was much discussion and negotiation between the Institute and its various 730 'clients'. Circular letters and at least one draft of the proposed new scheme were sent out and comment invited; a lively debate developed, mediated sometimes through regional meetings. Matters were kept under constant review at the centre and in the later phase of the operation a working group was set up. General approval of the plan of reform was evident, but on specifics there were many reservations and some energetic criticism. As a result a number of adjustments of detail and emphasis were made. It was agreed, for example, that for the purposes of the final award a 'Personal Profile' must be prepared, in the form of an agreed summary of the candidate's activities and attainments during the course. One particularly interesting point is that, while the purposes of Stage 1 were given clearer definition, the CGLI declined (largely on practical grounds) to become involved in certification of this stage as such; the implied suggestion that colleges and centres would be free to issue their own Stage 1 certificates proved to be one of the most controversial. In the end the 'regionalization' of 730, described below, was to take the heat out this debate.

The New 730

Three fundamental principles were agreed and embodied in various statements in the final 'Re-structured' document, printed in 1987 as *730 Further and Adult Education Teacher's Certificate, 1987–89*. The first of these embraced a 'Mode III' solution, making courses independent of the Institute. ('Mode III' is a term now somewhat out of fashion, first adopted for the type of Certificate of Secondary Education course that followed the format of the 'external' course, but was submitted and run by the school itself, subject only to external moderation.) The client colleges' tutorial teams were charged unambiguously with the responsibility of designing and operating their own schemes, to be negotiated and finally approved by the moderator allocated to them, and with the assessment of students on the course for the purposes of both development and final award. The emphasis for the future was on the quality of the team itself, the qualifications, experience and capabilities of its members. The day-to-day responsibilities and activities of 730 trainers were no longer the direct concern of CGLI officers, except for purposes of registration, entry of students for examination and issue of the certificate. In a matter of thirty years the Institute's scheme of training for further education teachers was now transformed, into as near a 'Mode III' programme as the most democratic educationist could have wished.

The prospectus declared that 'Each centre is required to produce a scheme of study which includes an assessment specification, subject to discussion and agreement with the moderator', and added a statement of the minimum conditions for a course to be approved. The tutorial team was given responsibility and discretion, subject of course to moderation, for the 'design of the tutorial programme in its entirety'. Modifications to the scheme in the light of experience, would be allowed, but again subject to agreement by the moderator.[9]

(It should be mentioned that about this time the DES decided that, for the purposes of grant aid by local education authorities, CGLI 730 provision would now require approval under the Department's regulations as an Advanced Course. With immaculate timing, the Department announced its decision towards the end of the academic year 1985/86, leaving little time for the necessary applications to the National Advisory Board (NAB) for the next session. Mercifully all those running the course were to be allowed to continue with new arrangements coming into effect the following session.[10] Recognition subsequently became essentially a regional matter.)

The second major principle underlying the restructuring was the inculcation of 'habits of self-assessment' throughout the course. This represented for the Institute, a total change of attitude. Tradition in further education—though far less so in adult education—had been strongly in favour of leaving assessment of achievement to the arbitrament of the final examination, mostly written. The devising and running of such external assessment had been the raison d'être of the Institute.

The 'assessors' or 'examiners' were those with adjudged competence and authority to do a job which was not within the common range of teachers' competence.

Now, in 730, the position was reversed: the teachers were being charged with the whole responsibility, not only of the running assessment called for in the normal routine of the job, but also for final assessment required for certification. Hence the emphasis in the course notes dealing with profiling:

> The personal profile should have been the subject of negotiation between tutor and student before it is finally filed or presented, to ensure the student's full awareness and agreement of its content. An important aspect of the compilation of the profile should have been the completion by the student of his or her own self-evaluation. This could well be filed in the teaching study, but ought not to be presented, as a document, with the personal profile.[11]

The third principle behind the new scheme was the central role assigned to the moderators. Assessors had been in service since 1968 when, in scheme 394, the practice of moderating coursework had been introduced. Their numbers, function and organization had developed since then. At the beginning there were few clear ideas as to how they should be appointed or how they should operate. Between them over the years the assessors, most of them recruited from among practising course tutors, accumulated a wide range of knowledge, and some of it became embodied in periodic 'Notes for Guidance to Assessors'.

They had been central to the running of the Feasibility Study of 1974–76, and it was recognized that the subsequent non-examination scheme of 730 would be unworkable without the services of a competent corps of part-time assessors. The New 730 thrust on to them, now redesignated moderators, greater responsibilities, including the vetting and approval of schemes. A much-circulated description of the entire role of moderator is that to be found in the National Association for Staff Development 'best seller', *The New 730* (Occasional Paper No 4), issued in 1987. This paper was the sequel to a major conference held by NASD in October 1986, which was attended by a record number of tutors and moderators connected with the CGLI programme; it was not in any way a publication of the CGLI, though it was approved by the Institute.[12]

The paper noted that in addition to giving advice and guidance, moderators had three formal responsibilities. First, 'considering, modifying if necessary and recommending for formal approval (by the examining body) the actual scheme under which a tutorial group seeks to run a programme; this recommendation may be subject to approval by senior Moderators'. Second, 'sampling the Coursework and Teaching Practice being done by the students on the course, with a view to setting the standards of achievement appropriate to the course'. Third, 'considering and if necessary, modifying tutors' recommendations for awards to students'. Moderators, the description continued, might be regarded as: 'consultants available and willing to give advice and guidance on all matters to do with the course... participants in the whole process of design and operation of courses, rather than aloof recipients of queries and modifiers of results... "judges of appeal" in matters referred to them by tutors and trainees'.

The whole fabric of the New 730 depended on the constant attention of the moderators. Regional moderators replaced the Education subject committee as the effective inner cabinet of the 730 scheme. Though still paid their inadequate fee and expenses by the Institute, they were now appointed (in those regions where fusion had occurred—see below) by the RAC, subject to approval by CGLI (approval in effect by the chief moderator, who was appointed by the Institute). Though there were 'moderators' and 'assessors' in other parts of the CGLI examination system, there was no group similar to the 730 team, with so much off-set and peripatetic responsibility.

The final adoption of the New 730 came at the May meeting of the National Advisory Committee in 1985.[13] Present were representatives of most regional advisory councils, two technical teacher colleges, the Association of Principals of Colleges, National Union of Teachers, National Association of Schoolmasters and Union of Women Teachers, the Royal Society of Arts, the Council for Educational Technology, the Manpower Services Commission and the Inner London Education Authority.

In recommending 'the piloting and implementation of the new scheme', the Committee declared that it should be adopted as soon as possible, and that from September 1985 it should be regarded as the 'substantive mode' of 730. It recommended also that 'a sufficient number of local centres, sufficiently varied in kind, should be especially monitored during the session 1985/86, with a view to the recommending of necessary detailed modifications, if any'. It is interesting to compare the ease with which this radical change was allowed through with the reform of 1978 when the written examination was dropped. The whole apparatus of 730 had grown considerably since those days, a large body of tutors had come into being in the colleges, the group of moderators had grown three-fold, and the number of students vastly increased. There was little question that the Institute's higher command regarded the whole sequence of reforms since 1978 as a success.

The National Advisory Committee also registered commitment to the 'coherence' doctrines of ACSET. It recommended for example that: 'Discussions should be initiated (and where begun intensified) between CGLI, the Regional Advisory Councils and other bodies, with a view to development of greater understanding between them and the evolution, where possible, of common policies.'

730 goes regional

In December 1985 the CGLI advisory committee for Education Services received, to the astonishment of some members, details of certain agreements which had recently been drawn up between the Institute and some regional advisory councils.[14] It was reported that these would affect 'the immediate future arrangements' for 201 (Pilot scheme)—Building Crafts, 365—Vocational Preparation and 730—FE Teacher's Certificate'.[15] The first effect of the announcement on those responsible for the 730 was one of dismay—not because of any dissent in principle from regionalization but because the whole revision of the scheme had gone through without anticipation of this development. Fortunately the sheer flexibility of the New 730 enabled it to adapt to the changed circumstances without either serious disorganization or discouragement to prospective students.

Broadly the intention of regionalization was that the Institute would remain the awarding body, operating through its own 'Scheme' committee for each subject. By this means CGLI would be responsible for 'the provision of externally set examination components and the establishment of standards'. The Region on the other hand would set up committees with such functions as: 'the provision or selection of material for use in components to be monitored on a regional basis, contributing to the production of material for use nationally, monitoring standards of assessment for regionally and locally delivered components and the organisation of regional staff and curriculum development activities'. So far as the actual management of the specific subject areas was concerned at regional level, there would be regional liaison committees, to 'monitor the operation of schemes, the appointment of regional assessors, arranging meetings of regional assessors to monitor standards of assessment, promoting staff and curriculum development, liaison with LEA's, colleges, industry etc.'

Members of the CGLI advisory committee were well aware that negotiations had been going on in the Southern region for some time, though they were perhaps not aware of the political implications of what was happening. A Southern Region Liaison Committee had come into existence and had produced a 'regional scheme' which consisted largely of a restatement of the requirements of 730, adapted to the fairly complex Stage 1 and Stage 2 training arrangements which were evolving in the area.[16] This signified the adoption of 730 as the region's central programme, calculated to satisfy the locally strong representation of adult education training interests.

Now it appeared that something like this would need to be developed in each of the regions, a view reinforced by the Director General at the NAC meeting of December 1985: he was anxious that the Institute should move into a position of proper partnership with the RACs; some national schemes such as 730 would benefit from representation at local level, and the natural vehicle for local provision was the Regional

Advisory Council. By now it was in fact known that discussions were going on in the London, the East Anglian and South-Western regions. Schemes for these regions were eventually 'delivered' or partially delivered, and 730 was able to operate under their aegis without controversy.

The West Midlands was one of the later RACs to move into line, with an integrated Stage 1/Stage 2 Scheme which became fully operative in 1988/89. It was not an easy transaction. The West Midlands council shares with the East Midlands, North West, Yorkshire and Humberside and the Northern councils a history and connections different from those of the regions where the new relationship with the Institute germinated. Though formed at much the same time after the Second World War, their backgrounds were totally different. In each of the more northerly regions there had operated, in the cases of the ULCI and the Yorkshire Council from the mid 19th century, elaborate programmes of regional examining. The 'regional examining unions' were ultimately—though quite recently—absorbed into the respective regional advisory councils, bringing with them much of the accumulated tradition—and prejudices—of former days. Among these were memories of encounters, sometimes absurdly acrimonious, with the City and Guilds of London Institute, itself by no means immune from the charge of backbiting and sometimes carping criticism of its 'competitors'.[17]

The sorts of disagreement that were at one time commonplace eventually receded. The Agreement of 1985 with the first four RACs heralded better relations to come. Nevertheless, adapting the 730 into regional advisory council schemes in the midland and northern regions was a tougher business than the earlier amicable arrangements with the southern RACs.

9

The Other Bodies

There were, in addition to CGLI 730, said the ACSET Further Education sub-committee, 'many other teaching qualifications available for part-time teachers, provided for example by the Royal Society of Arts, the Keep Fit Association and the Pre-School Play Groups Association, to name but a few'. So far as pretensions went, the observation was true; so far as professional standing and educational viability were concerned, it was a most misleading statement. It is difficult to believe that the committee was not aware that only two of the 'many', the CGLI and the RSA that is, were making a serious and valid contribution to what is generally recognized as part-time teacher training. They might also have mentioned the Manpower Services Commission, but this body made no claims to be training 'teachers'; it preferred the 'training of trainers'. The others bodies were concerned almost entirely with highly specialized teaching, and their programmes, wholly unvalidated, had no standing with the DES, and only fitful recognition by local education authorities.

The Royal Society of Arts, as we have seen, had been involved for many years in formal further education teacher training. More recently, it seems, informal approaches had been made by HMI to the RSA to consider the possibility of examining teachers of crucial 'office arts'. These were doubtless prompted by the sudden growth in the immediate post-war years of 'secretarial' subjects, a growth experienced not only in the new technical institutes and LEA evening schools, but also in 'private sector' secretarial colleges. To cope with the demand for teachers, two bodies did attempt to do something about the shortage, the Faculty of Teachers of Commerce and Pitman's College.

The 'Faculty' was a broadly-based association of mainly part-time teachers which sought to protect the interests of a group on whom the

LEAs relied but whom they were unwilling to recognize in any official way. It was these teachers who prepared young people in their thousands in evening schools to take the RSA Stage I and Stage II examinations, and also the 'Pre-Commercial', Stages I, II and III examinations now being offered by the regional examining bodies. While the qualification 'Fellow of the Faculty of Commercial Teachers' never gained official recognition, it was sought after by those anxious for appointment in the expanding commerce departments of the further education colleges. (A similar value, so far as languages were concerned, came to be placed on certificated membership of the Institute of Linguists. It did not certify teaching competence as such, but there was general recognition that anyone seeking employment as an evening teacher of foreign languages would benefit from holding the associateship or the fellowship of the Institute.)

It was, nevertheless, in the 'secretarial' subjects that the need for training was greatest. Most of the teaching was done by women, occasionally schoolteachers who had developed office skills in order to teach them in school, but almost overwhelmingly by young ambitious secretaries employed in office work. Some had themselves been to 'secretarial college', but more had struggled through 'night-school' to gain their RSA certificates in Shorthand and Typewriting, sometimes the more demanding Shorthand-Typist's certificate. Some local authorities required possession of a Grade III certificate before they would offer employment, but the need was often so great that such high levels of competence could not be insisted upon.

'Office Arts' certificates of the RSA were universally recognized, but even more plentiful were the certificates of the Pitman College, provided originally for the students of private commercial schools. Examinations in Shorthand and Typewriting at ten-words-a-minute intervals were conducted by the Pitman organization; most of the available literature and text-books, in both subjects, were produced by this firm (though the College was maintained as a distinct organization). Until quite late in the day the Pitman field officer was a regular visitor to LEA colleges, admitted with a freedom allowed to few others. Membership of the

'Pitman Foundation' remained until the late 1960s a valued benefit among senior teachers of secretarial subjects. The entire Pitman examination operation was ceded in 1990 to the City and Guilds of London Institute, and this now constitutes under its own section head, the Institute's commercial or business studies faculty. This means that CGLI now spans the complete range of conventional further education vocational courses.

In the 1930s Pitman's had set up their own teacher's certificate scheme. In addition to rigorous examination at a high level in shorthand and/or typewriting, the candidate was assessed on performance before a non-existent class, her only audience being the examiner. The certificate was not easily earned, but on account of its direct commercial associations was never likely to gain formal recognition by the state educational establishment. (It is probable that most of the efforts of the Pitman organization were directed at the private sector—it is now largely forgotten how most towns were littered with proprietary 'schools' and 'colleges', ranging from one-person concerns to branches of national enterprises, filled by young ladies, usually of middling academic status and modest aspiration.)

The post-war expansion of further education brought an increase in part-time day-release for young office workers, on a smaller scale than that for industrial apprentices and operatives, but still substantial.[1] Most LEA colleges built up departments of commerce, sometimes quite remote from the parent establishment and staffed almost exclusively by former part-time evening teachers or those transferring from private establishments. From the early 1950s there was an unprecedented demand for teachers of secretarial subjects, yet no special measures had yet been taken to improve the supply or the training available. All the new technical training colleges established departments of commerce, but the number of people they could train was minute.

Royal Society of Arts Teachers' Certificates in Shorthand and Typewriting

The Royal Society of Arts is for most people little more than a well-known examining body. It has been in the examining business much longer than most others, though the ULCI and Yorkshire Council sometimes make claims to have begun earlier. Society of Arts (the 'Royal' did not arrive until 1907) examinations began in 1856 and have continued ever since. The earliest covered a wide range, including mathematics, science, languages and 'commercial subjects'. Mathematics and science shortly departed to the government Science and Art Department. Twice in subsequent years the Society sought unsuccessfully to unload its examinations on to other bodies, since it had no intentions at the beginning of deviating from its central purpose, the general promotion of interest in the arts, commerce and manufacture. In 1873 it launched a series of technological examinations, which were passed over to the City and Guilds of London Institute six years later. The Society was left, nevertheless, with the 'commercial' examinations, book-keeping, commercial arithmetic, geography, commerce, foreign languages, and has maintained them ever since, through an entirely distinct examination department.[2]

It was inevitable that the Society should introduce examinations in the skills of shorthand and typewriting as the need for these began to develop on a large scale early in the 20th century, just as it was inevitable that the skills themselves, and hence the examinations, were virtually monopolized by women. (Two technical developments, the invention of an efficient system of phonetic shorthand by Isaac Pitman, and Remington's development of the shift-key typewriter made possible a social revolution by which women were able to invade the male preserve of 'clerking'. In 1881 there were perhaps 7,000 women clerks in England and Wales; in 1911 there were 146,000.)[3] In due course, the 'office arts' became a dominant concern of the RSA's examinations department, which came to be identified as the natural and proper examining body for the female-dominated commercial studies—just as the CGLI was inescapably associated with male-oriented examinations in industrial and craft skills.

The increasing female entry into further education brought with it a particular problem: students of commerce needed, but often lacked, a mastery of common written English and speech skills. Accordingly, the RSA, followed by the regional examining bodies, introduced a two-grade 'English Language' examination based on the competencies that employers were seeking in shorthand transcription and in copy-typing. Before this there had been a series of 'English' examinations which required study of set books. These became increasingly unpopular with the new sorts of students. There was a general prejudice in departments of commerce that teaching would be best done by the teachers of office arts themselves, but many of these felt inadequate, recognizing that there was more to the teaching of 'English' than correct spelling and punctuation. On the other hand, the English 'specialists' to whom the work was often allocated, were constantly under suspicion of diverting the girls' efforts to 'non-essential' though perhaps more enjoyable aspects of learning the language.[4]

The complications of teaching office arts were thus increasing. The Ministry of Education approached the RSA in 1948, suggesting that it look into the possibility of running examinations for teachers, and the first examination for the Teacher's Certificate in Shorthand was held in May 1949, attracting an entry of 328. It is not reported how many were successful but in subsequent years, the Society began publishing such information. In 1951 and 1952 when entries were respectively 575 and 595, the number obtaining the certificate was 244 and 166, giving a failure rate of 57.5 per cent and 72.1 per cent. In 1950 the Teacher's Certificate in Typewriting was introduced, attracting entries of 213 and 214 in 1951 and 1952, with the same sort of dire failure, 70.4 per cent in 1951 and 63 per cent in 1952.[5]

Candidates had to be at least 18 at the time of examination, though no certificate would be awarded until the age of 20. This low age requirement (as compared with the CGLI schemes) reflected an interesting difference of attitudes and the probability that the most promising recruits to teaching were to be found among the young and ambitious who had quickly achieved high grades in the regular office-arts examinations. Candidates must either be 'qualified teachers' under Ministry regulations, or have alternative 'acceptable qualifications' always including one in English.

There was no formal test or assessment of teaching practice. However, successful candidates other than already qualified teachers were regarded as 'probationers' until they were able to produce (not earlier than one year after and not later than three) a certificate to the effect that 'he or she has taught Shorthand/Typewriting satisfactorily throughout an academic year in day or evening classes'. A main feature of the RSA teachers' certificate schemes was the emphasis on the actual skills of shorthand and typewriting and pedagogy had a distinctly lower rating. Through all subsequent revisions and in all other RSA teachers' certificate schemes, this principle has remained, with significant effects. It has ensured that teachers taking the certificates remain primarily subject oriented. The RSA has a stoutly held view that the teaching of office arts is inherently different from other kinds of teaching. The fact that considerable numbers of office arts specialists have successfully qualified as part-time teachers through the agency of CGLI 730 has not weaned the RSA and its supporters from their separatism.

The RSA's approach to the 'coherence' doctrine proved to be more idiosyncratic than that of the CGLI. At the time of writing there had been little meeting of minds between these two major bodies on the phasing of their certification programmes into a Stage 1 to Stage 3 pattern. Partly for reasons of historical origins, the RSA certificates have evolved in almost total isolation from those of the CGLI and according to a different rationale. Both RSA and CGLI acknowledged from time to time the virtues of combined study of general principles of teaching in colleges where both kinds of teachers' certificates were provided. In practice the suggestion has seldom worked effectively.

The syllabuses of RSA teachers' certificate schemes maintained until recently this distinctive approach,[6] with an emphasis on technical competence, speed and accuracy. Nothing like this kind of testing was included in the City and Guilds technical, and later further education teacher's certificate examination. Such testing would, indeed, have been quite impracticable in view of the huge range of distinctive skills and competencies covered; but the underlying philosophies of the two examination systems diverged fundamentally. The CGLI, and the further education training colleges never belittled the element of 'special method', but of necessity they laid ever stronger emphasis on its exercise in the context of general pedagogical theory and practice.

In the RSA system Part II for each certificate, comprising two papers, enquired into knowledge of 'Principles of Teaching'. The first paper covered general principles and practice of teaching, including especially the teaching of skills; the second covered these as applied to the specific skills of shorthand or typewriting. From 1953 the General Principles syllabus was identical for both subjects, consisting of a brief list of topics, narrower but not dissimilar to the syllabus of CGLI 163, and including 'The Approach to Teaching' (the education system, the teacher, the pupil, the subject); 'Education and Psychology' (the psychology of learning); 'Skill Training' (underlying processes, general characteristic of skills, methods of learning skills); 'Classroom Organisation and Practice' (the classroom, course planning, lesson construction and preparation, different modes of teaching, questions and discussion, teaching aids, homework, revision, testing). The syllabus notes on 'General Principles' focused attention on those aspects of teaching which were considered to be quite particular to shorthand or typewriting; for example, techniques of dictation, handling vocabulary, transcription, the marking and weighting of errors, examinations and grading, keyboard technique, posture, display, other equipment and progress tests.

To extend the resources available to tutors the RSA began putting out sets of detailed 'Hints for Teachers and Candidates' in the office arts subjects. They came to be regarded as a sound guide to the 'principles' and 'techniques' preferred by the examiners. Their chief merit was their concentration on examination routines, and errors to be avoided in scripts, a preoccupation on the part of teachers of office and secretarial skills which did indeed distinguish them from most of their colleagues in further education. Commercial education has the longest and most enthusiastic devotion to being examined externally, and its courses have been the most deliberately shaped to serve the needs of examinations. The RSA has been a main custodian of this tradition, and secretarial teachers among the most dedicated to its techniques and values.

The figures for entrance, success and failure in this group of examinations reveal, over the years, some interesting facts. The decade of the 1950s, when full records began to be available, was one of steady growth. Entries in the Shorthand section increased from 575 in 1951 to 1,103 in 1960, and the success rate varied between 25 per cent and 42 per cent. In the Typewriting section between the same years numbers increased from 213 to 789, with an irregularly varying success rate of between 24 per cent and 56 per cent.[7] Clearly these examinations were satisfying a need. Clearly too, the RSA was meeting this need, in a tightly defined range of subjects, with greater success than the CGLI in its own examining of teachers: the entire total of 810 'technical teachers' being examined by CGLI in 1960, drawn from a much larger potential clientele, was less than half the number of candidates for the two RSA teachers' examinations.

There are, so far as is known, no contemporary analyses of this phenomenon but one very probable reason for it was that the secretarial teachers formed a much more homogeneous group, as compared with the amorphous and far more widely spread 'technical' teachers. Another reason sometimes retrospectively advanced is that their feverish involvement in examining (for most of their students got examined once, twice and sometimes three times a year) made them hyper-conscious of the need to 'improve their results'. In general these results were very bad. In 1955, for instance, the failure rate in RSA general typewriting examinations was 45 per cent; in shorthand the rate was even higher at over 54 per cent. (The original RSA teachers' certificate examinations included daunting technical tests of accuracy in typewriting and speed in taking shorthand from dictation, and some believed that these accounted for many of the failures. Yet when such tests were dropped in 1961 there was little effect on the pass-rates, which if anything worsened.) Entries for both certificates grew until the mid 1960s and declined markedly after

1970. In this later period pass-rates fluctuated rather wildly between 25 and 46 per cent.[8]

In 1974 a thoroughly revised syllabus for the RSA teacher's certificate was brought into operation. It failed to arrest the falling popularity of the examinations, partly the result of the rapidly increasing attractiveness of the CGLI scheme (now 394) to teachers of office skills. For many teachers who had achieved a basic level of certificated technical competence there must have seemed little point in submitting to the examination-room rigours of the RSA system, when the CGLI approach included the stimulus of mixing with other teachers and the manifest advantages of being assessed on actual teaching practice. The chances of failing the CGLI assessment were also much less; when in 1970 the success rates under the RSA were running at 30 per cent for shorthand and just under 23 per cent for typewriting, the success rate in the CGLI assessment was around 70 per cent. As attitudes to formal examining changed the RSA argument that its 'standards' were higher seemed increasingly unconvincing.

A somewhat more innovatory RSA programme, the Teacher's Certificate in Office Practice was introduced in 1967, but was never a high success. It differed in two important respects from the existing examinations: there was a practical test of ability in the use of office equipment, and candidates had to prepare, during their course of instruction, 'a teaching project of a practical nature'. As with the shorthand and the typewriting examinations the emphasis was on the subject skills themselves, but the balance and the style of examination was altered somewhat.[9] It is no accident that this modestly adventurous programme appeared shortly after the submission of the Russell Report on further education teacher training, nor that the City and Guilds Institute was at this time setting about a substantial revision of its own technical teachers' scheme. It is doubtful if there was any collusion between the two bodies, but their new schemes had features in common. Both introduced an element of assessed 'coursework', course tutors doing the actual evaluation of the work, their grading to be subject to the moderation of a visiting 'assessor'.

There was still no provision in the RSA scheme for the formal assessment of teaching practice. This was due, doubtless, to the same unease as that felt by the CGLI at sending external assessors or examiners to pronounce on such a sensitive personal matter as a teacher's performance—and also the certainty that such a process would be expensive and would have to be covered by the examination fees. Assessors were appointed by RSA, but since the scheme was so narrow, it never became economic to appoint enough of them to make viable the same sort of process by which CGLI 394 assessors ranged the country. Nor was the system adopted for the shorthand and typewriting teachers' examination, presumably on account of the scarcity of assessors competent to assess over a range of skills.[10]

The Teacher's Certificate in Office Practice never established itself as the earlier schemes had done. After an early spurt, the numbers taking the examination settled to a disappointingly low level. On the other hand, the pass-rate was very significantly higher than that for the office-arts teachers. The highest number ever entering for the office practice teacher's certificate was 170 in 1970, after which numbers tailed off irregularly down to 128 in 1983, by which date the scheme had been redesignated Teacher's Certificate in Office Procedures.

Several reasons may be suggested as to why the scheme never flourished. One is its narrowness, exemplifying the RSA philosophy of intense subject specialism. The Society's devotion to the strict principle of external examination in a field which had now largely discarded it cannot have helped. The City and Guilds' own experience seems to bear this out; those teacher education schemes of the Institute over the last twenty years in which examination remained a chief element also mostly failed. More important however was the revolution in 'office practice', a process of mechanization well beyond the scope of anything envisaged when the examination was set up. In 1979 the RSA Examinations Board appointed its own study group to consider the impact of computerization and automation on patterns of training and examination.[11]

Much of the argument of the resulting Glover Report ran counter to the patterns of routine that prevailed in commercial education in the years after the war, some of them fostered by the very rigidities and repetitiveness of the examination system itself. The report had little to say about what should be done to prepare teachers for the new demands except, cogently enough, to lay strong emphasis on staff development as the appropriate mode for bringing them up to date. The main problem now centred on providing sufficiently for staff development during a period of unprecedented financial restraint for local education authorities. Much did happen after 1980, but of the 20,000 to 30,000 teachers (full and part-time) in commercial education estimated by Glover to need this development, many (especially the part-timers) continued to do without.

Other RSA examinations for teachers

Over the years RSA and CGLI had built up close relationships with all kinds of commercial, industrial and professional bodies; they had also a similar pattern of relationships with further education teachers—separated off from one another according to the specialist concern of each particular group. What neither body had experienced before it took up the issue of 'teacher training' was connection with the world of professional teacher education. At no stage did either RSA or CGLI succeed in building up a set of organic relationships with the regular and statutory teacher-education establishment. The teachers' certificates of both bodies never gained the sort of general acceptance which, ideally, they should have enjoyed. The fault, of course, was as much on the side of the establishment as on that of the examining bodies. But for better or worse, once they had discovered a 'market' for teachers' examinations, as they saw it, both RSA and CGLI began to trade in market fashion.

Perhaps the most unfortunate aspect is that there was little cooperation between the examining bodies themselves. Each tended to follow its own bent, to keep connection with its own clientele, to design its new courses in isolation from those of the other body and, worst of all, sometimes from its own other courses. It can hardly be doubted that better progress could have been achieved had the two worked together more closely. Initiatives sprang from piecemeal demand rather than from broadly determined national policy. That a national response was the way forward was demonstrated with the publication of the Haslegrave Committee's report in 1969, with TEC and later BEC taking up the issue of curriculum planning and course assessment on a large scale.

The RSA series of language teachers' examinations present a pattern of coherence that gives a misleading impression as to the orderliness of their conception. As always, the demand for a teacher's certificate came from 'inside the subject'. Struggling to cope with the difficulties of teaching young people from immigrant families fluency in English, especially in the colleges of further education, were large numbers of 'untrained' or unsuitably trained teachers, recruited especially for the purpose. The Society was persuaded to do something about the problem, and in 1967 it launched the Certificate in the Teaching of English as a Second or Foreign Language. The scheme went through several transformations and soon began to differentiate into a variety of programmes as the clientele itself differentiated into further education, adult education, secondary education and eventually 'one-to-one' adult instructor categories.

The examination caught on, attracting 130 candidates in 1968, of whom only 17 failed, suggesting a different approach from that of the office-skills examiners. By 1973 there were 473 candidates, of whom 75 failed.[12] The award was now entitled the Certificate in the Teaching of English as a Second or Foreign Language for those Teaching in Further Education Colleges and Private Language Schools. It subsequently became the Diploma in the Teaching of English as a Second Language in Further Adult and Community Education (Adult Immigrant Scheme). In 1971 was separated out the Certificate in the Teaching of English as a Second Language (Primary and Secondary), subsequently the Diploma in the Teaching of English as a Second Language in Multicultural Schools (Primary and Secondary Scheme).

Quite impossible in such a context as this would be a detailed description of the whole programme. Since it was predictive of later practice, a brief review of the first certificate scheme, that of 1967, as modified in the prospectus for 1973, seems warranted. It was firmly written-examination based. A Preliminary Examination, consisting of a two-hour written paper (essay and comprehension) and an oral test (reading, oral discussion, conversation), was compulsory for all candidates, other than university graduates and teachers recognized by the DES (or the Scottish Department and the Northern Ireland Ministry). The written part of the main examination consisted of two papers, one three and the other two hours, the first on The Principles and Practice of Teaching English as a Second or Foreign Language and the second on Use of Language Teaching Materials and Aids; there was also a Practical Test, 'two lessons to classes at different levels of attainment' (one to be an elementary class).

The Preliminary examination was hived off in 1981 to become the free-standing Preparatory Certificate in the Teaching of English as a Second or Foreign Language.[13] This was an immediate and quite dramatic success. In the first year it attracted 1,128 candidates, and in 1984 there were 1,866. Taking a leaf from the CGLI book, written and formal examination was discarded altogether. Students were to attend for at least 100 hours of an approved course and were to be assessed 'on a continuous basis' in 'all the syllabus areas'—practical awareness of learners, language and materials; practical ability in classroom management and lesson planning, presentation and practice of a new language, developing the skills of reading, listening, speaking and writing. (The removal of the 'examination threat' was the main reason for the rapid uptake of this Preparatory programme.)

Not quite so spectacular was the Certificate in Initial Training in the Teaching of English as a Second Language to Adults, introduced in 1984, aimed specifically at 'home tutors, classroom volunteers, practising ESL teachers with no formal training or qualifications in language teaching, and non-native speakers of English who find themselves involved in ESL teaching'. Students on this course were even less formally assessed. They would attend for 100 hours and certificates would be awarded to those successfully completing an approved course of study. Assessment would be by tutor and validated by external course assessor. The intention was to take training directly to immigrant adults themselves, with all the intimidatory aspects of previous courses removed for their benefit. In 1984, 164 candidates appeared and 235 the following year.

Two other areas of language teaching were eventually taken up by the Society, that of the Teaching of Literacy Skills to Adults, and the award for Overseas Teachers of English. The first was no great success, never attracting more than forty-three candidates. It was abandoned in 1985, overhauled by the more systematic approach to the problem of adult illiteracy induced by the Adult Literacy and Basic Skills Unit. By its very nature the overseas teachers' certificate programme was problematic. It was to be conducted entirely overseas for the benefit of 'non-native teachers of English with some experience'. It was quite tough, with a written examination, a project and a teaching assessment, two practice sessions being seen by an external moderator. To run the scheme the resources of the British Council were required, and to begin with no fewer than twenty-one 'approved centres', from Brazil to Sri Lanka were listed. This scheme, of course, has little to do with part-time teacher training in UK.

Subsequently most of these RSA certificates were converted into 'Diplomas'. This was a consequence of the formal approval of the Privy Council, received in 1983, for holders of certain higher awards to use the designatory letters 'Dip RSA'. Existing holders of certificates became entitled to use these 'letters' on application to the RSA, and payment of a fee.

How far the Literacy Skills to Adults scheme was a precursor of the Adult Literacy Unit may only be guessed. This body (ALBSU) came along in 1983 to oversee this area of practice. Its links were with the regional advisory councils and the Welsh Joint Education Committee, rather than with the RSA; its overall objectives were the development of courses of training and certification in terms of ESOL (English for speakers of other languages). Courses were intended to be suitable for teachers, instructors of all kinds and adults generally (over the age of sixteen) with adequate backgrounds; accreditation was to be consistent with the 'practitioner' led philosophy developed at regional level, and certification was to relate to 'other further and continuing education training within a region'.[14]

With the onset of such initiatives and the controls ultimately to be imposed by the system of National Vocational Qualifications, the days of the ad hoc marketing approach of the RSA and CGLI to teacher education were probably numbered. The programmes for teachers in the RSA schedule were anyway not fully integrated with one another, and there must frequently have been confusion in the minds of possible clients. It was coming to seem probable that regional course organization and certification (comprehending local authority programmes) would eventually prevail, with or without the participation of the national examining bodies.

The same comment could be levelled at the RSA's later initiatives in Computer Literacy and the Teaching of Computer Studies. These were imaginative and useful, but ultimately such courses, with certification dependent on supervision and moderation of assessed course-work, could be manageable, financially and administratively, only on a regional basis.

Vocational Preparation

Two other certificates, one from CGLI and the other from RSA, deserve mention. Both originated in 1980 as a means of motivating tutors to take up the instruction of 'vocational preparation' courses, then proliferating throughout the system. High concern about the large numbers of school leavers without 'educational qualification' of any kind, led to the creation by both RSA and CGLI of vocational preparation and 'foundation' courses—the TVEI and CPVE initiatives—fostered by the DES and mostly intended for schools. There was, too, the post-school range of courses being promoted by MSC under the 'Holland Programme', especially for those out of work, that is, the Youth Opportunities Scheme and its successor the Youth Training Scheme.

The two 'teacher' schemes were intended to cope with two different kinds of client. Schoolteachers, educated by style and tradition away from the world of trade, industry and commerce, found themselves lacking in the background experience essential for the effective running of 'vocational' schemes. On the other side were many people with appropriate experience (usually out of work), but lacking adequate academic competencies. The RSA scheme, providing for the award of the Tutor's Certificate of Vocational Preparation, catered in the main for the first category, the CGLI 926 (originally 924) scheme, the Instructor/Supervisor's Award, for the second. The RSA scheme was in principle a programme of directed 'staff development', relying almost wholly on the initiative of the individual seeking the qualification for the content, format and quality of the submission on which the award would be based. It might take the form of a diary, log-book, case-study, work-based project, documented practical experience, attested observation, mentorship, or 'triangulation', a combination of several of these.

The certificate itself was quite unlike any award previously offered by the RSA. Preparation for it consisted in essence of '17 profile sentences stating the competencies involved in the design, development and execution of any vocational programme' undertaken by the candidate, achievement in which was attested by 'accreditors' defined as 'any individual who contributes to the training or staff development of individual tutors'. Work of individuals would be co-ordinated at 'registered centres', that is 'any organisation which co-ordinates staff development within a broad field of vocational preparation and which has staff trainers who can accredit any of the check-listed skills'. Such accreditation would be 'monitored' by 'an assessor responsible for reviewing overall provision'.[15]

The CGLI 926 likewise discarded any suggestion of strict or written examination, but was in most respects a more formal affair than the RSA programme. It required evidence of attendance at a course of training of about eighty hours, during which there had been discussion of five 'fundamental skills' areas: instructional, communication, caring/guidance, evaluation, job skills. Achievement was indicated by means of a twelve-item 'profile', normally to be agreed with the trainee.[16]

Both schemes gained a considerable following, but it is difficult to establish just what numbers 'qualified' by going through the programmes, since there were no pass/fail criteria. It was estimated that during the first years of the CGLI scheme some eight hundred to a thousand went through successfully. To what extent there was consultation between RSA and the MSC before its scheme was launched is also difficult to establish. In the case of CGLI 926, there was close cooperation between the Institute and MSC, the whole programme being tried out 'on a pilot basis' in 1979, in ten centres, all over England, with trials also in Glasgow and Belfast.

One issue that neither body, RSA nor CGLI, seems to have examined at the time their schemes were introduced, was 'what happens next?' Conceived in both cases on the traditional ad hoc principle, with an advisory group assembled for the specific purpose of devising and monitoring a scheme, there was no mechanism for follow-through. The RSA scheme seems to have been, on the whole, self-sufficient; 926 on the other hand soon generated a demand from successful trainees for admission at an appropriate point to 730. No questions of relatedness, compatibility or modes of determining 'remission' had been considered, either by the 924 or 730 examination subject groups; nor had the advisory committee seriously discussed the matter.

The problem was never effectually resolved, but when in 1986 the 'New 730' came into being, the issue was settled, somewhat arbitrarily. The Institute adopted the formula: 'Teachers who have successfully completed the Institute's course 924 (Youth Trainer's Award) should... normally be considered eligible for direct entry to Stage II.'[17]

The contributions of the two major 'external' further education examining bodies to the training of teachers have been substantial. In 1985 the RSA language teaching courses accounted for the involvement in training of more than 3,000 teachers of one kind or another, and the CGLI 730 took in some 4,250 candidates. As noted earlier the assessment styles adopted by the two bodies differed quite fundamentally—though whether their clienteles differed all that markedly is a matter for argument. The RSA programmes were designed largely on an assumption that they were sui generis, and that 'subject specialism' was more important than common pedagogic needs. Written examination continued to be a substantial element in the main diploma courses. Assessed teaching practice remained less prominent in the RSA schemes; and such assessment as occurred was more constrained by explicit guidance and standardized report forms. The RSA style was one of more detailed prescription and central control than that of the CGLI. Further, the CGLI moved much closer to the Regions than seemed possible with the RSA. To all intents and purposes, the CGLI has transferred main course responsibility to the RACs, retaining only the responsibility for maintaining 'national' standards and the award of the certificate itself.

If coherence is to prevail in the long run, obviously much negotiation remains to be done between the main bodies. Changes in the RSA approach since the mid 1980s have not made this possibility any easier. The designation of 'Diploma' (used by universities to signify an additional, specialized qualification) has been applied to what, for many, is an initial teaching qualification. The Society's recent policy of adopting a 'modular' structure for its courses could, in the absence of liaison with the CGLI and the regions, create further difficulty in the area of teachers' awards. On the other hand, the CGLI has been pursuing with some enthusiasm the principle of 'competency based assessment'; unless there is agreement as to what this means in the context of further education teaching there will be more trouble. There will be those who continue to argue for institutional separatism. This is not what the ACSET Committee had in mind when they advocated 'a Coherent System of Initial Training for Serving Further Education Teachers'. At its simplest, the committee suggested: 'To achieve the commonality of curriculum between the Haycocks programmes and, thereafter, to recognise other training qualifications as conferring some advanced standing for entry to the Haycocks programmes will require a variety of accommodations from all concerned.'[18] It is not good enough to fall back on the argument that the courses considered here are 'for part-timers only'. Some of the part-timers, RSA- and CGLI-certificated both, have sought and will seek to move on to full certificated status.

Licentiateships and Diplomas of the College of Preceptors

The College of Preceptors took up the question of teacher status and qualification, mainly in the field of 'middle-class education', long before anyone else. The College has never had a specifically 'Further Education' orientation, but a small and probably influential number of further education staff have taken up its Licentiateships and Diplomas.

From 1969 the licentiateship has carried graduate status for salary purposes under the Burnham regulations. To obtain it the candidate must undergo a series of not fewer than 'eight unseen written examination papers and a project report'. Part I includes four three-hour papers out of five subjects dealing with education and society, psychology and history. Part II includes one written paper chosen from fourteen subjects, the most appropriate one for further education teachers being the 'Vocational and Further Education' option, dealing with the structure and organization of the sector, principles and methods of teaching, and social and educational services in the community. An extended 'project report' dealing with a subject taken from the same list is required. Finally, Part III consists of a written examination on one 'academic subject', in effect a typical teaching subject. The structure of options allows for the study of 'Organisation and Management of an Educational Institution' (a Further or Higher educational institution being explicitly allowed for); and 'Management in Education', including the 'Legal Bases of Education'. A Diploma in the Advanced Study of Education (DipASE), cast at the level of a master's degree, is also available.[19]

No conditions of course attendance are specified for these awards, but from time to time where take-up has warranted it, a few colleges have provided tuition and guidance. There are no means of knowing how many further education teachers have progressed by these routes.

The Open University

One final resource now available to part-time teachers should be mentioned, and that is the range of courses of the Open University. Since they are not specific to teachers, there would be little point here in discussing the many options available; but some of the Education units, half- and quarter-units, especially those with a reference to Adult Education and Educational Management, may have special attractions for part-time teachers seeking to improve or augment their qualifications at 'Stage 3'. At least one regional advisory council, East Anglia (EARAC), incorporated into its Stage 3 arrangements various part-units from the Open University list, successes in which were allowed to count towards the Region's own Professional Certificate in the Teaching of Adults.

10

Training for the Teachers of Adults

In the 1977 edition of Jenny Rogers' *Adults Learning* the author begins her all too brief comments on 'Training', darkly enough:

> There are still professors and principals in adult education who do not bother to train their teachers, as they claim that teaching adults is a matter of 'instinct' or being a 'born teacher'. Similarly, in industry there are still instructors and training officers appointed to train other people without themselves having had any training at all.

She gives one concrete piece of guidance:

> The City and Guilds of London Institute offers a part time course (No 730) which does give a nationally recognised certificate. Courses generally operate at Colleges of Further Education. Greatly increased numbers of adult education tutors now take this course, though it began its life as a qualification for craft teachers in technical colleges.[1]

A survey conducted on behalf of the Southern Regional Advisory Council in 1973 , suggested that over 20 per cent of the candidates then taking CGLI 730 were broadly described as 'non-vocational'. In that year there were 2,491 candidates, and thus some 500 candidates were non-vocational teachers.[2] It has, however, always been notoriously difficult to draw workable distinctions between the 'vocational' and the 'non-vocational' (except in the rather arbitrary terms adopted by local authorities for their own statistical purposes), since much of the work done in the context of conventional 'vocational education' is strictly 'non-vocational', that is to say the many types of physical education, recreational, DIY, homecrafts classes to be found in further education colleges and treated, for administrative convenience as 'vocational'. Very probably most of the students studying foreign languages in evening classes are non-vocational, but if they are, even only nominally, preparing for an examination, they are classed as vocational. The term 'adult' is no guide at all, for many students in indubitably vocational classes, day and evening, are well beyond the 16–19 age range.

So far as staffing publicly provided or aided adult education is concerned, needs are in some respects different from those of vocational education. The DES has usually counted together all part-time teachers in the public sphere; however, the numbers of adult educators, according to the estimate prepared for the purposes of 'Haycocks II' (1978), was something of the order of '130,000 part-time teachers in further and adult education employed by local authorities', to which should be added 'some 10,000 part-time teachers employed by the [then] Responsible Bodies', particularly the WEA Districts and the University extramural departments. In 1975 Elsdon had written of 'some 100,000 part-time tutors' for adult education 'and perhaps 2,300 full-time or shared administrators, advisers, organisers and teachers'. There is a discrepancy here that bespeaks the abounding confusions of classification. More to the immediate purpose, Elsdon added: 'Only a small proportion of this force has received any training for work in the education of adults, whether as teachers or organisers.'[3]

Among the many reasons identified by Elsdon for this inadequate allocation of resources was the diffuseness of the field, the huge variety of 'institutional umbrellas' under which adult education may be provided. For instance, many associations and bodies outside the statutory system such as Women's Institutes, Young Farmers, and Co-operative Guilds provide instruction that is strictly 'adult education'.[4] Even if we confine discussion to the 'public' system, another problem of great significance must be faced: the immense range and rapid flux of subject areas and interests involved, and in consequence the huge variety of skills and professional backgrounds of the part-time teachers recruited to conduct adult education classes. Perhaps as many as 40 per cent of adult education tutors are teachers and lecturers in secondary, further and higher education, many trained and qualified, but not in the teaching of adults. Among the rest are great numbers with no pedagogic training or structured experience; for the most part they have been thrown in at the deep end, like the teacher quoted by Jenny Rogers:

> I went into my classroom knowing absolutely nothing about teaching. I was amazed that they should have offered me the job as I was completely frank about my ignorance on teaching method. When they said it didn't matter, I thought it was rather odd — surely it should have mattered.[5]

Also mentioned by Elsdon is the very high rate of turnover of part-time staff in adult education. He quotes an estimate of the National Institute of Adult Education, that 5,000 of the 100,000 part-time teachers of which it had cognizance, 'appeared to be new entrants', while other surveys had indicated that 56 per cent were in their first three years, 12 per cent in their fourth or fifth years with only 32 per cent having six or more years' experience.[6]

Another problem has been (according to Elsdon) the persistence until relatively recent times among educational administrators — and many influential practitioners, especially in the universities — of the assumption that 'knowledge of a subject was equivalent to an ability to teach it, a touching faith that teaching, because it is subtle, personal, and depends on relationships, does not depend on any skills which can be defined and taught'.[7] This doctrine, long discarded for school teaching in general, prevailed in vocational as well as non-vocational further and adult education; it served a convenient function, for it saved money.

The subject of training for adult education as for further education generally really became an issue of informed public concern only after the Second World War. Though overlapping in terms of their provision, 'adult education' and 'further education' always tended to have separate institutional identities. Both could claim birth in the mechanics institutes of the 19th century, but, however vague the line of separation, each pursued its own history, traditions and organizational patterns, in training as in everything else. Hence the need to emphasize the ACSET doctrine of 'coherence' as a means of reconciling differences of approach.

Indeed in any discussion of training for adult education since 1946, it is necessary to recognize a number of broad interior distinctions; even if we exclude the numerous voluntary and private interests, there are within the adult education service several different sorts of provider, organized and financed differently, and particular sorts of client, and diverging traditions. Each provider has made attempts to provide training, seldom with much concern for others in the field. There are two main presences to consider: the LEAs, assisted in their approaches to training by the RACs; and what for many years were classified as the 'Responsible Bodies', chiefly the university extramural interest and the connected but independently managed Workers' Educational Association (WEA).

The Responsible Bodies

The provision of essentially 'intellectual' adult education is usually regarded as stemming from the late 19th century 'university extension' initiative, pioneered by Cambridge, which led to the setting up of university 'tutorial classes' provided in partnership with the WEA, and of university extramural departments (sometimes called departments of adult education) providing on their own account. Within the modest security of earmarked grants from government (the Responsible Body or 'RB' system) a tradition of liberal and educationally demanding work grew up, emphasizing in various blends culture and social purpose, and generally indifferent to the rigmarole of 'merely useful' examination and certification. Extramural classes typically offer science, social science, literature and arts subjects.

Tutors have traditionally been full-time members of the extramural department, aided by other members of university staff and highly qualified outsiders teaching part-time. Subject expertise combined with a 'feeling' for the special character of extramural teaching have always been emphasized, elevated into doctrine indeed. In any case, lack of resources has always worked against attempts to treat 'training' seriously. Arrangements for supervising inexperienced tutors, and for creating a group identity among teachers in particular subject fields, appear to come and go — and are inevitably marginal concerns in over-stretched organizations. Staff development in some form does, nevertheless, take place, for example through professional conferences, and joint meetings with other interest groups such as the WEA. It would be fair to say that these events have always been more concerned with propagation of policy (even ideology), and with keeping up commitment and organizational energies, than with individual or group pedagogical development.

The WEA, founded 1903, is a voluntary movement which acquired quasi-public status as a result of formal recognition within the Responsible Body regime. It grew up in close association with the universities, and in some parts of the country the relationship has remained strong to the present day. The WEA is constitutionally a confederation of 'districts', a District being run by a relatively small number of officers and tutor-organizers, subject to lay governance by committee. Programme planning is variously handled but an important element in principle has always been the partnership between the professionals and the voluntary 'grass roots' at local branch level. Courses are provided in a vast range of venues and in a vast range of subjects, most of them seeking to preserve 'a definition of liberal and socially responsive education'.

Like the universities the WEA has drawn its army of part-time tutors from among highly qualified and sympathetic subject-specialists, but because of the enormous and fluctuating variety of the programme it has also made greater use of schoolteachers and 'unqualified' people with highly developed special interests. As with the extramural departments there have always been attempts, against the odds, to provide internal support and mentorship for new part-time teachers. From the late 1960s the WEA began to exhibit here and there an interest in training for its own staff, and some initiatives have been taken.

In 1989 the DES unilaterally decreed the end of the RB system. Support of the universities' liberal adult education work was incorporated into their regular funding, though on special terms which virtually perpetuated the old arrangements. At the time of writing the situation of the WEA was still contested and uncertain. It is clear however that the new funding system is unlikely to provide any better answers to the problem of staff training.

Looking back one sees that the universities and the WEA were able to establish a powerful authority in the field, and yet, within the relative security of their grants-in-aid, to stand aloof from the mainstream of adult education. The greatest handicap experienced by the former responsible bodies in improving the training of their part-time teachers was this relative isolation from other branches of education.

Local Authority adult education

The emphasis in LEA provision tends to be on recreational activities, art, an enormous range of handicrafts, music, drama, physical education, flower arranging and gardening, DIY, car maintenance, domestic economy, cookery. The overlap with vocational education has always been considerable. For example, adult students may pursue subjects such as modern languages for purely private or recreational purposes, but since such subjects are usually attached to the principle, however tenuously, of preparation for examination, the clients are classed as 'vocational'.

After the stimulus provided by the Further Education requirements of the 1944 Education Act non-vocational adult education has expanded constantly. Although much of it is customarily provided in evening centres, precise organizational policies differ from authority to authority. Some have sought to integrate adult education into a broader programme of 'community education', others have encouraged it to work in close harness with the vocational further education college system.

Many of the part-time teachers in this sector are pedagogically inexpert when they first come in; it is they (more than their colleagues teaching extramural or WEA classes) who need training, and they have taken up more readily the opportunities available through CGLI 730. The actual number of part-time, non-vocational teachers employed by LEAs who are in need of basic induction and training is impossible to determine, but they undoubtedly run into many thousands. Furthermore the 'night school' staff already qualified as schoolteachers usually need some induction and preparation for the special conditions they will encounter in their work with adults. As Elsdon put it in 1975, 'if it is assumed that the teacher of adults needs professional knowledge and skill for this different field no less than the teacher of children requires training for his task, then it appears that there may be some disproportion in current training activity.'[8] The disproportion remains over fifteen years later.

Approaches to training

The history and limited success of the responsible bodies' own attempts at training have been succinctly reviewed by Elsdon. The story itself is unedifying, especially when set against the hopes expressed in two substantial reports which appeared in the wake of the First World War. These were the *Final Report* of the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction, usually called the '1919 Report', and the report produced in 1928 by the British Institute of Adult Education, *The Tutor in Adult Education*.[9] Both emphasized the need for proper training of adult educators, and nothing much happened. For the next significant mention the world had to wait until 1947, when the Ministry of Education's Pamphlet No 8, *Further Education*, indicated that preparation for youth and adult work might be included in ordinary teacher training courses.[10] Neither was that sufficient to overcome the reluctance of successive governments to spend money on such marginal projects.

There were a few attempts by universities to respond to a need, understood (according to Elsdon) 'primarily in terms of the reproduction of established approaches'. Robert Peers, Nottingham's first and prestigious professor of adult education and doyen of this early approach, accepted 'that certain skills in adult teaching might be specifically taught, and offered both diploma courses and others forming part of the certificate of education at Nottingham from 1921'. The success of these schemes was small.

On the tendency to reproduce established methods, Elsdon comments:

> Typical were the three-week courses addressed mainly to adult students at Oxford from 1926 and Reading, and their later development into the

> fortnight's summer school courses for intending tutors at both Oxford and Cambridge. They offered mainly examples of good traditional tutoring and opportunities to imitate them under critical supervision.... The Oxford Delegacy's scheme for 'apprentice tutors', which ran on similar lines from 1946 to 1968, defined the system by adopting the name: it rested mainly upon attracting the apprentice to the best available member in the hope that he would succeed in picking up the essential features of his 'mystery'.[11]

There was until late in the day little in the way of a developed theory of teaching adults on which to base courses. Few books on the subject had yet appeared; the first full-time lecturer concerned with the teaching of adults was appointed by Manchester University as late as 1949. Education students with an incidental interest in part-time adult teaching were catered for in Manchester, and eventually elsewhere, by the inclusion of an adult education option in postgraduate teacher-training courses, but these could only scratch the surface. Manchester introduced a full-time certificate course in adult education in 1955 and an advanced diploma in 1961. Nottingham followed suit in 1966 and other universities subsequently. Again these developments have affected only a few directly, though the diffusion effects must be greater.

The difficulties of running courses for part-time RB teachers were the subject of a head-on controversy in the columns of *Adult Education* in 1964 and 1965. McLeish of the Leeds extramural department proposed a local two-year course, with trainees attending one evening a week and on Saturday morning to follow a syllabus including 'Psychology of the Older Learner' and 'Methods and Practical Work'. The course would lead to a 'Diploma in Higher Education, by examination' and would be appropriate to 'anyone who has to deal with older (post-secondary) students in a learning situation'.[12] The proposal was dismissed with scorn by J. J. Roberts, an officer of the WEA. As for getting people together for an evening and a Saturday morning a week: 'We regard ourselves as lucky if we can persuade most tutors to attend a one-day conference once in every three or four years. There are always a few who because of a graduate qualification, regard themselves as adult education tutors by divine right and have nothing more to learn, but the great majority are unable to undertake training for quite understandable reasons.'[13]

(Roberts' view of the difficulties was, perhaps, exaggerated. By the early 1960s it was not unusual for some extramural departments and WEA districts to set up, and subsidize, residential weekends. One such was the annual Easter gathering of Southampton University and Hampshire WEA which ran for several years and generated much airing of common problems among mainly part-time tutors.)[14]

Nevertheless the prospect of a proper training remained distant; there was no established philosophy of training, numbers in any one area were too few and there were few competent trainers. The responsible bodies tended to be isolated from other educational providers, and to look inwards rather than out to the wider world of popular education. The situation began to improve in the 1960s, but only when university adult education departments began to take an interest in their own pedagogical specialism and in what was provided by local education authorities.

The first spurt of new activity in training was marked by the creation in 1961 of the new Diploma in Adult Education at the University of Manchester, described in some detail by C. D. Legge. Although intended for practising or intending full-timers, or for those 'for whom adult education is only a component of their full-time work', the development gave a considerable boost to the idea of better training for part-time tutors. Among the objectives set for it was that of providing 'stimulus'; Legge commented:

> What all of us in adult education — teachers, organisers and administrators alike — need perhaps more than anything else, is an opportunity to think more deeply about the work we are doing, to get a better understanding of the place of adult education in the life of the community, of its aims, methods and techniques and of the relationships required and to assess the validity of the answers we give to the problems which confront us.[15]

Another significant feature of the early and mid 1960s was the increasing activity of the National Institute of Adult Education and the support it received from a number of senior university figures. Among the Institute's leading lights at the time was a strong East Midlands group including Professors A. J. Allaway of the Leicester Department, Harold

Wiltshire of Nottingham and Henry Arthur Jones, Allaway's successor, all strong for training and more outward looking than earlier university adult education chiefs.

New approaches: the National Institute of Adult Education

Thus, from 1961 there was a coming together, however partial, of the two wings of the adult education 'movement'.[16] But by now the LEA sector was clearly overtaking the extramural and WEA sector. By 1963 there were over a million students attending 'evening institutes' of whom of course many were attending vocational courses.[17] The National Institute of Adult Education reckoned that there were about 60,000 part-time tutors 'supported by 954 full-time workers of whom less than half were employed by the LEAs'. By this time, local authorities were beginning to appoint considerable numbers of full-time principals, organizers and advisers for adult education, and were also making almost as many 'shared appointments', very largely of lecturers in further education colleges with an adult education brief.[18]

The majority of these were 'untrained', whether in teaching adults or in organization and management. Two agencies helped considerably to shift discussion of the problems of training into a new and more realistic context. The first of these was the series of annual conferences held in Salisbury 'for the whole range of adult educators, community workers, youth workers and teachers of general studies in further education'. These conferences were mostly the work of the small group of HMIs now specifically concerned with adult education (of whom Elsdon was one) and with liberal studies in colleges. During the 1960s they attracted large numbers; there were few part-time teachers, but there was an unprecedented mix of almost every other kind of practitioner concerned with the less strictly categorized forms of further education. The adult section regularly considered 'methods of improving, enlarging and liberalising traditional provision', and attention was given 'to the purposes common to all forms of adult education and to the problems of cooperation between the different providing agencies'.[19] By diffusion, these conferences probably did much good, but they contributed little directly to solving the part-time training problem.

The other agency was the National Institute of Adult Education (NIAE) itself. The Institute, funded through individual memberships, corporate subscriptions and a small government grant, had been formed in 1949 and was described by the Russell Committee as 'a major non-governmental force in the development of the adult education service. It has promoted understanding, nationally and internationally, between bodies engaged in adult education, by the convening of conferences and meetings and by its publications.'[20] Its journal *Adult Education* has already been mentioned as a lively source of information and ideas.

In the early 1960s a main effort was directed to investigating the nature and structure of the adult education service. In October 1962 NIAE submitted to government its report of an enquiry into 'Accommodation and Staffing', which, in addition to analysing such figures as could be assembled, 'brought out the importance of a larger cadre of full-time staff for the development of the work, most of which has traditionally been conducted on a part-time basis.' This produced a reaction in the DES which issued in June 1963 the Administrative Memorandum 6/63 which enabled LEAs to make new full-time appointments for the purposes of adult education.[21]

The Institute followed up its first report by appointing a 'steering committee' on recruitment and training of staff for adult education. The committee reached the conclusion that some 1,000 full-time and 55,000 to 60,000 staff were employed; and that there was incoherence regarding desirable qualifications, and wide variation in conditions of appointment and salary arrangements. There was no investigation of the remuneration of part-time staff, but indications of dissatisfaction were noted.

Training was found to be as scrappy and unco-ordinated as any other feature of adult education. The committee identified eight elements of 'preparatory' and 'in-service' training necessary for a coherent service, leaving aside strongly opposing views as to what was necessary in different parts of the system. For full-time purposes there was a general tendency to favour 'in-service' and university-based approaches.

As to part-time teachers, there was no dodging the issue of the complex problems involved. On this matter some prominence is given to the views of Henry Arthur Jones, at that time principal of the City Literary Institute in London, commenting on behalf of the recently formed Association for Adult Education: 'The quality of adult education depends finally on the performance of each individual teacher in his classroom. For the foreseeable future this means in ninety per cent, if not ninety-nine per cent, of classrooms, a part-time teacher.... The numbers involved are vast... and only a fraction have had any training in teaching at all.' Jones observed that if guidance were not forthcoming part-time tutors would fall back on models provided by their own experience at the receiving end of education or conclude that they could safely regard the work as a 'meaningless chore' for overtime earnings. 'For such an army of tutors the only possibility is in-service training by the professional staff of the institute or centre and this... must be recognised as a major responsibility of the staff.'[22]

The report mentioned the still modest attempts within LEAs to respond to the problem, noting the City Literary Institute's internal staff seminar and schemes of elementary induction, the Inner London Education Authority's 'systematic courses for instructors', and moves by such authorities as Leicestershire and Glamorgan to secure 'a minimum of specific training for part-time teachers of adults working in the authorities' own institutions'. An appendix drew attention to a variety of programmes of short courses, mostly modest in scope, run by fifteen local authorities during 1962/63.

'Recruitment and Staffing' was fairly reticent in making recommendations, not least because of the 'tentative and sometimes divided opinions of those immediately concerned'. The committee preferred the report to be taken as 'an agenda for continuing discussion rather than recommendations for immediate action'. It was widely circulated as a special number of *Adult Education*, and its influence was by no means negligible. The process of appointing more full-time adult educators continued, so that by 1972 it was reckoned that there were some 1,200, including '48 full-time inspectors and organisers and the holders of shared appointments'.[23]

What was missing from the 1966 NIAE report was any significant indication of awareness of the huge development that was occurring in the vocational sector of further education. The LEA adult education interest on the whole preferred to cleave to a separatist 'adult education' ethos. It was their version of the image created over the decades by the extramural bodies and WEA — with whom they really had much less in common than with their colleagues in the mainly vocational colleges of further education. The new organizers themselves tended to look for self-sufficient solutions to the training problem, in virtually complete indifference to what was going on in vocational further education.

At this period one finds no open reference to the CGLI programme, and anyway Scheme 163 must have appeared to those adult educators aware of it as rather unappetizing fare. What probably brought the two interests closer together eventually, was the leavening influence in the colleges of 'liberal studies' appointments, recruits to which often had respectable credentials as people trained to be educators. Some of the 'shared appointments' mentioned above were part of the process, for they led to liberal studies staff taking on various responsibilities for non-vocational adult courses in their colleges.

New approaches: the Russell Report

As a consequence of developments just outlined the issue of part-time teacher training was treated in the 1970s with increasing earnestness. Symptomatic of this phase was a small seminar on 'The Training of the Part-Time Teacher of Adults' held at Manchester in 1971.[24] The pattern suggested by the seminar, and elaborated in its report, was a formidable 'credit award', take-up and put-down programme, designed to serve the needs of every kind of recruit, from the pedagogically innocent to the advanced graduate. There were in all twenty-six 'recommendations' (from whom and to whom was rather unclear). Considered in their own limited contexts all made sense, but what was striking about the exercise was its formalism and ideologically splendid isolation from discussion going on in the rest of the education service, and its apparent unawareness of issues such as 'third cycle' training being considered by the James Committee at that very time. Interestingly, CGLI 394 was noticed, though somewhat condescendingly. Otherwise one finds no evidence of connections with or approaches to the CGLI by the main adult education interest as such, though it is possible that the Manchester seminar was told of NIAE representation on the Institute's Aims and Objectives working party.[25]

There was a feeling in the air that 'something ought to be done'. And in fact some of the freshly appointed, younger LEA staff were given their head and did start to take the initiative, uncertain as they were just how to begin. Short courses, and week-end conferences multiplied, more adventurous local authorities introduced more systematic courses, and by linking these with conditions of service sought to impose a modest training requirement on their raw part-time tutors. (Many part-time tutors responded only too gladly.) Development was patchy, and most of the schemes were small in scale and isolated from one another. No proper account has been written of what exactly occurred during these experimental years; at this point it is possible only to generalize from direct experience of what happened in a few localities, referring where appropriate to reports published in *Adult Education*.

It is first necessary to say something of what should have been the adult education event of the decade, the publication in 1973 of *Adult Education: a plan for development*, the Russell Report. Its brief was to review provision for non-vocational adult education, 'consider the appropriateness of existing educational, administrative and financial policies', and to make recommendations on ways to get the best out of 'available resources to enable adult education to make its proper contribution to the national system of education conceived as a process continuing through life'.[26] Much was expected by the adult education interest from the committee's deliberations, but hopes were to be disappointed. At a time of economic and political troubles the Russell Report was put on to the back burner, the gas then being quietly turned off. 'Development' and 'expansion', words cautiously deployed by the Russell Committee, were not in favour.

The main recommendations of the report implied a substantial increase in the full-time staffing of adult education, particularly in the LEA sector; increased expenditure on accommodation and support services was also envisaged. The responsible bodies were to continue in their particular roles with the encouragement of increased direct grant. There was to be more attention to the needs of the handicapped and disadvantaged, and of those seeking to improve their capability for further formal study. There were to be broadly representative 'local development councils', and regional advisory councils for further education 'should generally adopt the practice of establishing sub-committees for adult education'.

Something was done, or was already being done in most of these areas, but on nothing like the scale that Russell considered necessary. The local development councils did not flourish, but the RACs took up — or had already started taking up — the idea of special adult education subcommittees. It was this development, more than any other, that influenced patterns of training henceforward, and arguably it would have occurred even without Russell.

The short section of the Russell Report on training contained evidence of some fairly radical thinking, though, in view of things happening elsewhere in the public education system at the time, not radical enough. In retrospect, the most obvious weakness of the report's training proposals was an indifference to developments at that very time occurring in the whole field of teacher training, and in further education in particular. The James Report had only recently been published and the Advisory Committee on the Supply and Training of Teachers (ACSTT) set up. The latter's newly appointed Further Education (Haycocks) sub-committee was to lay the groundwork for a saner system of training for teachers in further and adult education.

The main demand of the Russell Report was for a substantial increase in the numbers of full-time staff supplying adult education, that is 'heads' to take charge of larger centres, and 'assistants' to take charge of subsidiary centres or main subject areas.[27] (Though there were some increases in the full-time staffing of adult education in the years following the report, they were ludicrously smaller than what had been envisaged.) According to Russell, the responsibility for training part-time teachers in the LEA adult education service would lie with the area organization, and the provision of induction courses 'should be an important part of the area head's role, supported by his professional staff. As a body of full-time staff, the head and his assistants, including subject specialists, should be competent to deal with induction training and to extend it into the continuing supervision of newly appointed staff.'[28] Attention would need to be paid to the in-service training of the full-time staff so that they could be equipped for this and the managerial duties which their work involved. For the new cadres of full-time staff 'the most appropriate mode of course would seem to be a well organised programme of day-release — perhaps two days a week over an initial period of six months — with two or three residential weekend conferences during the period.'[29]

Although the committee several times stated the belief that such programmes could be 'met from existing resources', it has to be pointed out that in reality the logistics of such internally oriented training would have been formidable, and the cost quite disproportionate. Russell did not publicize the touchy idea — which surely occurred to committee members — that such training might become viable if integrated with a programme for coping with the much greater need in vocational further education.

Leaving aside such questions of practicability, the report's comments on part-time staff training were otherwise quite sensible:

> Existing classes have disposed of the once frequently expressed assumption that men and women whose only contact with adult education is one, or perhaps two, classes per week will be unable or unwilling to give up time to train for such a marginal activity.... Many part-time tutors are at first surprised to find that their terms of reference are so sketchy and that they are left from the outset to find their own way, in company with the class;

> indeed, many students suffer in consequence and classes dwindle and close down. When part-time tutors are offered training opportunities they usually respond readily and give their time generously to attend training sessions for which they are even asked by some local education authorities to pay their own out-of-pocket expenses.

Russell continued in rather general terms about the courses that should be provided. They included induction courses, 'of which considerable experience is already available'; and development courses for those who had settled into the work, which should 'strike a proper balance between the special subject interests and more general matters common to adult learning situations'. 'Large local education authorities may be able to develop a range of such courses from their own resources but otherwise cooperation through regional advisory council arrangements will be necessary.' Russell considered that advanced courses should be available for the highly experienced who wish to improve their formal qualifications, and in this context mentioned that 'the City and Guilds of London Institute has for many years offered certificates to part-time teachers in further education and currently these are under review.'[30]

Development was much slower than was wished and along a somewhat different line from that envisaged by the Russell Committee. In practice, the main thrust now began to come from the adult education sub-committees, set up by most of the RACs, co-operating with their constituent LEAs and, in time coming to co-operate with that very City and Guilds of London Institute fleetingly mentioned by Russell.

The Regional Advisory Councils act

In the period when the world was 'waiting for Russell', some RACs had already begun to act on the problem of training for adult education; early in the field were the Yorkshire, Southern, and East Midland councils. Exactly when the first sub-committees for adult education were called into existence is difficult to determine as the surviving records are rather scanty.

Fortunately there are some useful accounts of the manner in which the East Midland scheme came into existence, published in *Adult Education* in 1973.[31] For ten years before that the National Institute of Adult Education had continued to discuss the training problem and had eventually produced an idealized scheme in three stages, by which those part-time teachers with ambition might go the whole way from initiation to fully trained status. Stage 1 (induction and basic training) would be provided by LEAs and should serve as a preliminary to the next stage. Stage 2 (intermediate) would be equivalent perhaps to the CGLI 730 but naturally with the emphasis on adult education. Stage 3 was advanced training leading to a university diploma, and would have to be planned on a regional basis.[32]

The practicable East Midland scheme originated from the conjunction of 'three equally important factors'. One was the existence of an active consultative committee for Adult Education under the Regional Advisory Council. Another was a regional seminar for full-time adult education staff which had been meeting regularly under the sponsorship of a local university adult education department with a special interest in training. The third was the presence in the region of a group of adult educators (members of the seminar) who had, in various ways, accumulated substantial experience in varied training methods. In addition, indirect influence was felt from a neighbouring region which had already developed a training scheme (Yorkshire). Demand for training soon spilled over the border to staff working in the East Midlands.[33]

Diffusion rather than spontaneous generation was the process by which the East Midlands scheme came into being. Well before Russell there was a marked, if not universal, move towards the three-stage principle. Emphasis to begin with was on the first or Introductory stage. It required several years for the East Midland scheme to take shape and even then provision for Stage 2 remained very scrappy — dogged by the problem of how to relate it to CGLI 730, and Stage 3. Courses were provided by the participating local authorities, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Lincolnshire, Leicestershire and Rutland, and Northamptonshire, and to begin with the county boroughs of Nottingham, Derby and

Leicester, (which until 1974 had their own education authorities), the extramural departments of Nottingham and Leicester Universities and the WEA. The scheme began with a number of pilot Stage 1 courses. Later on some Stage 2 pilot courses were introduced, but with limited success largely because of problems over the 'convertibility' of Stage 2 awards. To undertake a difficult course and then find that the certificate had no particular recognition elsewhere was disconcerting.

The RAC's consultative committee examined what could be done and briefed itself on the nature and scope of the CGLI scheme. Objections to the original 730 scheme as a programme for adult education part-time teachers included a number of well-canvassed propositions. For example, it was too long for use by the majority of evening part-time tutors; it was too strongly vocational; the written examination was unfair to a large number of adult tutors who were not required to be highly literate; finally, the CGLI required a technical qualification for entry or a sufficient record of successful teaching, as an absolute condition.

That the programmes being evolved by LEAs and RACs were not irreconcilable with 730 was demonstrated over several years in a number of colleges, by the course tutors utilizing the local scheme as an introductory or warm-up course for the main certificate course. In 1973 Elsdon identified 'at least two current Stage II courses linked with City and Guilds 730 in the sense that those members who wish to do so were registering to take the national examination as well as working towards the regional qualification'.[34] It has to be confessed, however, that at this stage of affairs the Institute was neither particularly accommodating to the RACs nor particularly interested in what they were doing.

Most of the regional Stage 1 courses devised for non-vocational tutors took the form of a term or twelve-week programme, supplemented wherever possible by a Saturday or weekend 'conference'. The term's work consisted usually of twelve evening sessions of two hours' duration or a little longer, on a negotiated syllabus covering the ground suggested by Russell. Students, usually twelve to fifteen in a group, received instruction, but more generally took part in peer discussions on the adult learning process, subject skills, methods of presentation, questioning technique, and so on. Courses were mostly free-standing, running for their allotted time in a suitable evening centre, then repeated with appropriate alterations somewhere else for another group. Teaching practice was assessed in one or two sessions, less for the purposes of grading performance than for diagnostic purposes. In this way the tradition of a 36–40 hour Stage 1 programme evolved.

'Certification' of individual students was not a matter of special concern to the East Midland RAC, and one finds little reference to the methods of assessment for award of the 'Regional Certificate in Adult Education', Stage 1 or 2.[35] The emphasis was rather on regional moderator's supervision of a course, and given a satisfactory report on the conduct of the course, certificates usually went through unquestioned. By analogy with CGLI 730, and because ex-students often wished to carry their 'qualification' with them to other regions, certificates (if only of completion) assumed greater importance, and at Stage 2 assessment procedures perforce became more sophisticated; during the decade tutors and moderators became more experienced at assessment.

A strength of the East Midland system was its attention to the nature of moderation and the role of moderators — an example not lost on CGLI. Over the years the 'Regional Notes on Moderation' became a model for other bodies too. Of greater significance was the RAC's concern for the training of trainers, and improvement here was promoted by group of experts based on the University of Nottingham. Even so, 'The development of the scheme quickly revealed two major gaps in the available resources. One was the shortage of staff skilled in conducting training courses of the kind intended. The other was the lack of supervisory skills among the local staff in whose centres teaching practice and subsequent employment were taking place.'[36]

One county within the East Midland ambit remained on the sidelines. Leicestershire, though nominally taking part, preferred to run its own training programme; the ostensible reason for this was that the county was basing its policy on the 'community college', and that its tutors' needs were rather different from those elsewhere. The authority's point of view was explained in an article in the *British Journal of In-Service*

Education in 1976, which emphasized the need for 'a single control over all the activities of and in the College'.[37] Leicestershire took a superior view on the matter of 730, which was dismissed as unacceptable for community college purposes. The standard demanded by the county in some subjects was very high, for example in part-time teaching of dressmaking and embroidery, for which a particularly demanding course was organized, including instruction in pedagogy provided by the University of Nottingham Department of Adult Education.

It was this Department that undertook in 1980–81 the most painstaking and thorough study ever attempted in the training of part-time teachers in adult education. The enquiry dealt in the main with the East Midlands area, a national study being beyond the researchers' scope. This region was chosen ostensibly because the East Midlands RAC had been a 'pioneer in developing a viable and realistic training scheme for part-time teachers of adults where little had previously existed'.[38] The project was specifically commissioned by the DES in the wake of the Haycocks reports, and while the ACSET Management Group (see pages 137–9 above) was deliberating. The team, three members of which were tutors in the Nottingham University Department of Adult Education, made a detailed appraisal of affairs in the region, training needs and provision, courses, trainees, trainers, methods, including some comparisons with provision in the other regions.

The enquiry's findings, interesting at the level of detail, were based on responses to questionnaires sent to trainees, trainers and practising (part-time) teachers, and interviews with some in these groups and also with representatives of 'providers'. The conclusions, rather disappointing in view of the considerable resources and effort involved, are summed up in the authors' own 'Introduction':

> There appears to be little consensus on the theoretical underpinning of the training of adult educators. There is a lack of agreement about the solutions to many of the basic questions in the training field, especially in the area of analysis and evaluation of 'good' adult teaching.[39]

As to the courses, the authors were mainly interested in RAC Stage 1 and Stage 2 schemes, and such few Stage 3 schemes as they could identify, but the report contains no serious evaluation of their content and effect as being 'beyond the resources of the project'. It is evident from the statistics on courses that the authors had been made well aware of the increasing impact that CGLI 730 at that time was having in the field, and they express the continuing (though fading) conventional doubts about the suitability of the CGLI programme for adult non-vocational teachers. They quote, for instance, the reservations of some 'LEA officers' that 'the City and Guilds as an outside body could be making demands on us in terms of the course, which we might not be prepared to adhere to'.[40]

The report does not seem to have been widely read, nor, despite its being officially commissioned, did the DES take much note of it. Its timing was perhaps unfortunate. This was the very time when the RACs and the polytechnics were taking up the Haycocks options which, for better or worse, were beginning to determine the pattern of course provision that came to prevail for part-time teachers, vocational and non-vocational alike. Also the authors of the Nottingham report could not have known about the City and Guilds' future measures for further liberalizing its course, the 'New 730', or about its coming agreements with the RACs.

The national 'system', a variegated pattern including more and less demanding courses, some 'validated' by the RAC, some by an acceptable outside body or by the LEA itself, continued to develop into the 1980s. Some schemes interlocked, others stood alone, varied, disparate and utterly lacking in 'coherence'. The actual nature of 'adult education' underwent marked changes as economic recession took hold and concern for disadvantaged and handicapped groups grew during the period. Part-time vocational education also changed drastically with the development of youth and retraining courses on a scale that quite outpaced conventional day-release and 'apprentice' courses; and at many points there were new kinds of overlap between the vocational and the non-vocational. Whatever might have been appropriate training for part-time teachers in both areas ten years before, could it have been realized even then, would no longer have filled the bill; for as Elsdon observed of some earlier approaches, the tendency always was towards the 'reproduction of established approaches', however inadequate they had been.

Little thought was given during all these years to Stage 3. University interest naturally focused on the various 'adult education diploma' schemes that were being introduced. A slightly off-beat example from the period was the Diploma in the Teaching of Adults in the University of Hull, reported in *Adult Education* in 1971. When its instigator, Professor Styler, observed that 'teaching-centred part-time courses may have a contribution to make' the inescapable implication was that 'teaching' had no central place in higher diploma schemes. The Hull course itself was able to focus on teaching only by resort to contrived classroom situations:

> We experimented originally with 'mocked up' teaching sessions, but decided that these were too artificial. The direct teaching situation in which the teachers found themselves was the seminar, so we decided that we should involve them all in the teaching process. Consequently, we ask them all to deal with aspects of teaching adults at appropriate points in the course. Thus they both demonstrate their teaching capacity and learn about adult education at the same time.[41]

Nothing could illustrate more graphically the gulf between the thinking involved in 'teaching-practice' oriented schemes of training, fully worked out in the case of CGLI 730 and most Stage 1 and Stage 2 regional courses, and the university-based diploma and certificate courses. Such courses were never a substitute for a well-thought-out Stage 3 scheme, which however specialized in approach, was expressly related to the development of practitioner skills. (Some universities have experimented with Stage 3 but have found it difficult to recruit sufficient students to organize balanced and effective courses.)

The typically English ad hoc, 'private enterprise' approach to the little-valued business of part-time teacher training described above, may perhaps be described as the 'Lazy Jack way', where the chief actor is always one stage behind the response required in the circumstances. The James Report provided a forward-looking and imaginative impetus to overcome the inertia-ridden system of training for teachers in post-school education. Then the ACSTT Further Education sub-committee, led by the cautious but still forward looking Ernest Haycocks, produced a potential solution, and a solution which would allow the full- and part-time, the vocational and non-vocational, the further and adult teachers to train alongside one another.

It has been noted how the new mood of 'coherence', encouraged by the Haycocks reports and subsequently by ACSET, enabled the City and Guilds of London Institute, custodians so far of the main programmes of part-time further education teacher training, to move towards co-operation with the regional advisory councils in fashioning a coherent national scheme. It is to this fusion that we direct our valedictory attention.

11

Coherence?

The state's provision of education has crystallized out from the huge amorphous mass of independent activities that preceded it, a process which has left embedded in the public system treasured chunks of the old and familiar, preserving also some of the traditions and values of the voluntary and philanthropic initiatives we started with. Whatever might have been the practical and political advantages of such endeavour in earlier days, the persistence of old traditions can signify refusal among separate or competing groups to acknowledge necessary common cause, and (in the context of the present study) an absence of conviction that an agreed approach to training is at all necessary.

This book has avoided the matter of training for the 'non-statutory' elements of the wider system of continuing education. The whole pattern is too fragmented, too shot through with intersecting vested interests, often too small and little-known to be easily brought to light, too mixed up between the 'commercial', the philanthropic and the ideological. (That some of the non-statutory educational agencies benefit from state or semi-official provision, as for example CGLI 730, is very probable; but is a subject yet unexplored.) We have been concerned exclusively with training for teaching in the further and adult education classes of the public system, and in particular the arrangements for preparing the great army of part-time teachers who, even today, are indispensable.

Certain essential features of the 'system' have evolved and have been identified in earlier chapters. First there is the stout persistence of the principles and values of the voluntary provision from which both vocational and non-vocational public education outside of the schools developed. Second, it was noted, was the very late arrival of any systematic concept of training at all; before 1945, it can be said without much exaggeration, continuing education in this country was conducted by amateurs. Third, the idea that pedagogic training might be beneficial for full-time further education work obtained no lodgement in the public mind until after the Second World War, and to this day there is no statutory sanction for such training. Finally, the form and content of vocational and non-vocational post-school education, though overlapping and in some areas clearly complementary, have been kept artificially apart.

The book has sought to demonstrate the long overdue, perhaps inevitably slow, edging towards a 'coherent' system. The idea of an integrated, though flexible programme of training for teachers is of very recent origin. Two developments since 1972 have transformed the scene. First, however inadequate the provision, it is now generally accepted that in-service development is necessary for teachers in all branches and that it needs to be paid for. Development habits have probably been cultivated more in further education than in the other branches (though it was never intended that the National Association for Staff Development should become so exclusively directed towards further education as it did). Secondly, over a critical period there existed a machinery for the constant overview of teacher education across the service, the Advisory Committee for the Supply and Training of Teachers, and its successor, the Advisory Committee on the Supply and Education of Teachers; each of these appointed a Further Education sub-committee which had a significant impact on training for further and adult education. (Unfortunately ACSET came to the end of its term in 1986, and the Conservative minister of the day did not see fit to reappoint the committee.)

The processes by which a nation-wide coherent training programme became possible—though is by no means yet achieved—have been described in previous chapters. Official reports from that of the James Committee onwards have played a significant role, specifically the three 'Haycocks' documents and the two 'Coherence' reports under the aegis of ACSET. There was widespread adoption at regional level, and, largely on the initiative of local polytechnics, of the Haycocks I proposals for in-service, day-release programmes for teachers already employed in further education. During the 1970s LEAs and RACs began to devise, implicitly rather than by deliberate plan, a three-stage structure of training which, theoretically at least, enabled part-time teachers to progress from induction to full Further Education Teacher's Certificate status. The CGLI 394/730 schemes went through a sequence of adaptations which led to their widespread use for part-time teachers in most areas, with adjustments to suit varied local needs. Finally came agreements between the CGLI and RACs which allowed examination programmes to be transferred to the latter for future supervision and development.

Each of the RACs has published a regional Stage 1 and Stage 2 Scheme, incorporating in a manner appropriate to particular regional needs the requirements of CGLI 730-on which the Institute must insist if the Further and Adult Teacher's Certificate is to be available to successful students. Two regions, the East Anglian Regional Advisory council for Further Education and the Welsh Joint Committee, have pursued the concept of coherence up to Stage 3. East Anglia has a virtual, though not designated, Stage 3 in its outline of a Professional Certificate in the Education of Adults. The Welsh Joint Committee has made a systematic and comprehensive response to the problem. An exemplary scheme with progression to Stage 3 was devised for teachers in further and adult education, and grafted into the existing INSET programme at University College, Cardiff. A subsequent development has been a pilot course for a part-time Stage 3 at the Gwent College of Higher Education. Yorkshire and Humberside Association for Further and Higher Education has also sanctioned provision for Stage 3 at Huddersfield Polytechnic, but attainment of full coherence across the Polytechnic's network of extramural and associate centres is still problematic. Overall, at the time of writing, the progress of 'coherence' in the regions ranged from thorough analysis of what was at issue to avoidance of the subject. Clearly, there is still much ground to be covered.

Is Coherence coming?

It must be emphasized that in no sense does Coherence signify 'uniformity'; on the other hand there is no particular virtue in 'variety' for variety's sake. The variety that does exist hardly results from an intelligent set of choices; it is rather the unforeseen outcome of decades of unco-ordinated, specialized, local and voluntary effort, a pot-pourri of independent and often competing 'initiatives', generated in different parts of the field and accommodating one another, if at all, as best they might. In accordance with the English way, a general policy of coherence having been recommended, there could be no question of change at a stroke. Both the Haycocks and ACSET proposals were communicated to LEAs, RACs and other bodies concerned by administrative osmosis rather than positive directive, for in our domain it must never be allowed to appear that a new policy is going to cost real money. The process has to be accomplished by negotiation, concessions, agreement between the bodies already in the field, private bodies such as CGLI and RSA, the LEAs and the RACs themselves. All have territories marked out. Worthwhile agreement cannot be achieved without some relinquishment or merging of 'ownership' of programmes (the word is actually heard in discussions of such matters), and the transfer of some elements of sovereignty to some sort of 'federal' authority. Most of the bodies concerned cherish their independence, at least vis à vis their own kind.

These sorts of attitudes, very understandable, and not peculiar to education, can only be described as 'vested interest', even though there may be no financial motives involved at all. Anyone experienced in local government will be aware of its influence. It was easy enough for a series of expert committees to say what ought to happen; it is another thing to enforce the actual changes. There are obvious elements of inertia inherent in the training of further education teachers. Many involved in the business are satisfied with 'things as they are'; and certainly there is still a powerful belief that such training is not necessary. Most of the potential trainees are already possessors of specialist experience or qualifications beyond the average; what need for more?

The chief field of action for 'coherence' chosen by the DES has been that of the regional bodies, with minimal interference from the centre. Though Haycocks spoke of a 'national validating forum', this was soon played down by DES. There could have been worse choices of where to place the initiative, but for all their merits the RACs cannot automatically be regarded as the most promising agents of change in the circumstances. They are formed of representatives of their LEAs and are funded through the county councils. Accordingly, and even in the absence of the veto, whatever moves they make must be acceptable to the constituent LEAs. The LEAs themselves are subject to political shift as local government electoral fortunes vary, and RACs have to accommodate to this.

The regional councils vary in size, both as to population and geographical area served. Each has a separate history and a different configuration of committees and procedures. Some, like the North West, are deeply involved in low-level examining. They are usually understaffed and their people overworked. Most of the staff are not educational experts, and sometimes administrative expediency can take precedence over educational advisability. Educational advice is taken from where it may be best obtained, with a leaning towards senior professionals in nearby universities and polytechnics for matters of higher policy, and the departmental educational advisers of their member LEAs.

In the past the RACs have had much of their 'continuing education' advice on teacher training from the adult non-vocational rather than the vocational further education interest. This was due largely to circumstances whereby RACs' first involvements in training were with the adult education group. Before Haycocks the regions were not much concerned with initial and in-service training for full-time teachers, which was the responsibility of the colleges of education (technical). Equally, they were not involved in the part-time training of teachers of vocational subjects, where the CGLI and the RSA held a virtual monopoly in their respective domains. Until the signing in the mid 1980s of the agreements between CGLI and the RACs, which came 'out of the blue', provision by the latter bodies made little purchase among part-time teachers of technical subjects. Some RACs had ventured into Stage 2 courses designed for 'non-vocational' teachers, and some had hopes of adapting such schemes to the needs of the 'vocational' practitioners. Then CGLI 730 romped away as the major 'Stage 2' programme, keeping its grip of the vocational market and attracting increasing numbers of non-vocational tutors as well.

The main strength of the RACs as training agencies remained in the vast proliferation of Stage 1 courses. Though no national statistics are available, the progress of these courses during the late 1970s and early 1980s has ensured that there is now only a minority of part-time non-vocational teachers totally without pedagogic training. Not all Stage 1 programmes took note of the needs of vocational tutors, but in some areas (for example, the West Midlands), 'doubling-up' on Stage 1 certificates began. The CGLI/RAC agreements completely transformed the situation. The 730 Certificate programme, having already adopted a Stage 1/Stage 2 format, proved to be in most areas more adaptable to the needs of the whole 'continuing education' part-time clientele than ever before.

Though this move alone has precipitated greater activity towards 'coherence' than any other single decision, coherence in training patterns for continuing education is still a long way from being achieved. What are the elements of a 'Coherent System'? They must include something like the following.

Reasonably equal conditions of eligibility, access and opportunity for training, for full and part-time tutors.

Equal values assigned to the various official awards associated with each phase of training, that is Stages 1, 2 and 3.

Comparable, though not necessarily identical, syllabuses and variants thereon at each level, so that the competencies certified may be relied on in all regions.

Stage 1 and Stage 2 awards to stand as certificates of competence in their own right, related to the conditions of part-time service imposed by LEAs and other employers, but each also to be contributory to full certification. The achievement represented by each level must be explicitly related to the programme ahead, and there should not in the long run be need for 'bridging'.

> Systematic procedures for consultation and agreement between the agencies involved, in line and 'across the grade'.

This last condition is particularly important for the RACs. Their present arrangements for joint consultation are scrappy. The Standing Conference of Regional Advisory Councils has virtually no 'federal' powers; some permanent co-ordinating committee is essential, as is the surrender to it of sanctions to enforce agreed policies. The RACs are probably not yet ready for such co-operation, but there is an urgent need for more systematic patterns of communication between the ten regional bodies. The difficulty of course is that RACs are poorly funded and SCRAC even worse funded.

The RACs are strategically well placed to promote coherence. In addition to improving their own modes of common action, they could well address attention to some of the other issues militating against a coherent pattern, discussed in many parts of this book. They are in a position to encourage effective bridging of the vocational/non-vocational divide. They can also contribute to promoting better practice and communication in the area of course design: weaknesses revealed in so much course documentation are the tendency to over-detailed prescription, too much paper-work altogether, heavy jargon-peddling, and 'conceptry' (the FEU having something to answer for here).

There is a shortage of people competent to undertake course tutoring and course moderation at all levels; these jobs can only be learned 'experientially', that is, a by combination of doing the work and of in-service staff development. To meet the need the RACs could encourage more and better programmes of 'training of trainers'; their access to relevant information makes them suitable bodies for the task, and they should be able to call on the universities, polytechnics and the Further Education Staff College for such purposes.

There is no easy resolution of some of the problems of relationship between the voluntary bodies. The CGLI/RAC agreements brought the two much closer together; already CGLI is on the way to discarding its role in course regulation and management, remaining in the teacher-training system only as a validating and awarding body. Reconciliation between CGLI and RSA and between RSA and the RACs is an altogether more difficult matter. It is one that will have to be tackled.

No 'coherent system' can be fixed and durable for long. So much change is occurring in further education, that almost any imaginable entire scheme must soon fall out of date. Several issues at the present time are already throwing out of phase most existing agreed schemes of training: 'modularization', 'credit accumulation', 'accreditation' of prior training and experience obtained elsewhere, 'distance learning', and the most popular of all present concepts, 'competency-based assessment'. A coherent system ought not to be held up while all these new ideas are perfected and agreed; it should be constructed in such a way that intelligent new modes and practices can be incorporated without destroying the main structure.

The state we are seeking to escape from is a species of 'Incoherence'. It has arisen from the conjunction of well-meaning but often unrelated influences, with contributions coming from a rather wild variety of 'bodies', public and voluntary. What must be avoided in the next stage of evolution is yet another pattern of incoherence, each piece separated from the next along the borders of the ten Regional Advisory Councils for Further Education.

12

Into the Future: a Postscript

Between the 'final' draft of the script of this book and publication so much has happened or begun to happen that an update is quite necessary. There has (as yet, it may be wise to add) been no departure from the 'continuity principle', so often emphasized in the book, but the pace has quickened quite startlingly. There is no hope of 'catching up' or seeking to make accurate predictions as to what might happen next, but several recent significant developments warrant the attention of readers who have followed the argument so far.

Two kinds of development are now affecting, or are soon likely to affect the evolution of training patterns in further and adult education; they may be identified as 'internal' and 'external' factors. Those internal to the system as it has come to be understood are the college- or institution-based 'in-service' (and 'own time') programmes through Stages 1 and 2; the main one, CGLI 7307 (as the 730 has become, following the latest reclassification and numbering of courses in the CGLI prospectus), being controlled and validated under CGLI/RAC agreements, with admission to Stage 3 mostly controlled by polytechnics under agreements with CNAA on rather variable criteria (see below). Those external to the system have been generated essentially as issues of public policy, in particular-the quite radical restructuring of further and adult education promised in the DES White Paper *Education and Training for the Twenty-first Century*,[1] and set out in the *Bill Intituled an Act to make new Provision about Further and Higher Education dated 4 November 1991*,[2] which at the time of writing seemed unlikely to be much modified as it went through Parliament.

Discussion of contemporary development does not allow these two groups of factors to be kept apart. Examination of the new statutory measure as such is quite outside the scope of this book — or this 'Postscript', but since their impact on the issues of training may be drastic, and will certainly affect all thinking about training from now on, this looming external factor must be mentioned first. Publication of the White Paper in the summer of 1991 sent shock waves through the entire system. Some of the proposals, especially those dealing with the improvement, availability and relatedness of courses of all kinds were seen as unexceptionable, well in line with current 'internal' development. Those on the other hand having to do with the organization, management and funding of further and adult education implied — as does their embodiment in the Act — radical restructuring, the carrying through of which will, of themselves, greatly influence the emphasis, nature and location of training schemes. It is manifest that these proposals will cut right across several of the lines along which training facilities and opportunities have been developing.

It is, for instance, greatly feared that the removal of vocationally biased further education institutions from LEA control and funding, while leaving adult education still under such control, may have the dangerous effect of exaggerating even further the traditional artificial differences (of presentation and funding) between the two, just at a time when more intelligent views were beginning to prevail in colleges, LEAs and regional councils as to their relatedness. Whether or not further education colleges will get more money than before under a national Further Education Funding Council remains to be seen. Whatever may be their newly defined statutory obligations as to adult education, it is to be feared that LEAs, strapped for money as they are inevitably bound to be, may starve adult education even more severely than they have done in the recent past; and in any case, its exclusion in principle (if not in fact) from the colleges may cut off adult education fatally from that profitable exchange between the 'vocational' and the 'non-vocational' that has developed in so many colleges. Virtually all the existing frail 'protection' which the non-vocational elements of post-school education now possess will be quietly eroded. Cultural loss apart, regular non-vocational adult education is likely to become more marginalized in our system than it has ever been before. As a consequence of political prejudice, philistine sentiment and financial parsimony, the last state of adult education may well be a great deal worse than the first. This aspect of the new arrangements has certainly not been thought through.

The implications of the proposed new status for polytechnics, in effect their becoming self-dependent 'universities', are potentially quite dire for progress towards a nationally coherent three-stage programme for in-service training and qualification of further and adult education teachers. The CNAA, under which so many of the existing in-service Certificate of Education (FE) schemes have until recently been subject to approval, will disappear so that such consideration as may be given at present to commonalty as between courses will dissolve. The conditions of entry and provision for 'remission' on account of previous training may well become more varied still. The problem was well stated in a recent article on the role of RACs in the provision of training, published even before the White Paper:

> The granting of corporate status to polytechnics and other higher education institutions has led to a growth in the number of centres offering Certificate of Education (FE) schemes, where previously there had been regionally coordinated schemes, based on the ACSST 1 model [referred to in this book as 'Haycocks I']. The growth in provision is welcome.... We [the RAC from which the article emanated] had identified a substantial mismatch between the numbers of untrained full- and part-time teachers and the training opportunities available. The problem is that the providers are now independent, each subject to its own validation and monitoring procedures and able to set different entry requirements. The picture seen by the ordinary lecturer is very confusing. Will polytechnic A offer a better exemption 'deal' for my 730 than polytechnic B? Where does the ALBSU Accreditation Scheme (City and Guilds 9281) fit in? The HE institutions are understandably embracing the free-market philosophy with some enthusiasm and at the moment the prospects for a regionally coherent (to say nothing of a nationally coherent) FE system with agreed common exemption arrangements, transferability and inter-institutional moderation are slight, regardless of whether or not that is what the 'consumers' want.[3]

As universities, with all the prerogatives, heightened independence and conventional values which their new status will encourage them to adopt, is it likely — without coercion — that the whole thirty or more of them will agree on a common approach by which those with CGLI 7307 certificates, RSA teachers' diplomas and various other lower-level qualifications may apply to them for exemption or remission of 'standardized' portions of their Certificate of Education (FE) courses? The notion that NCVQ will be able 'to take care of that' is laughable. Universities do not take kindly to 'dictation' from outside bodies. It may also be added that there are renewed signs that the regional advisory councils may disappear altogether; in any case, their role and funding will change of necessity when colleges become 'independent'.

The CGLI 7307 agenda

These worries apart, what had been happening from 1989 to 1991 within the 7307, the overwhelmingly dominant Stage 1/Stage2 programme now available? Much of the activity may be considered 'benign', in the sense that the CGLI, in co-operation with other bodies, has been moving in the direction of the more rational, co-ordinated arrangements anticipated in the late 1980s. The most noticeable feature of the 'New 730' has been its enormous 'market' success. In 1989/90 the number of Further and Adult Education Teacher's Certificates was 6,902; in 1990/91 it was 7,812.[4] It is expected that the figures for 1991/92 will top 10,000.

The increased demand for this certificate has been fostered by several factors, the main one being, as the Chief Moderator puts it, 'taking the brake off provision'. There are now fewer restrictions on the opening of courses, with the result that the number is now well over two hundred and rising. For various and partly adventitious reasons, greater resources have been available for the funding of courses (and even for the funding of individual students), with less interference from LEA treasurers than in the past; though the 'pump priming' benefits of GRIST, LEATRG and more recently GEST (Grants for Education Supply and Training) are due to cease when colleges have become more accustomed to allocating an appreciable portion of their total grant for training and staff development purposes. It is to be hoped that the habit will become ingrained.

The fact that certificates are now awarded 'on demand', that is at any time during the academic year when courses complete, instead of at fixed intervals, has allowed greater flexibility in course planning. Tutors are increasingly able to cope with students on shift or 'unsocial' hours and those experiencing special difficulties. Demand for CGLI 7307 has been stimulated also by an increasing tendency for some providers of Certificate of Education (FE) courses to allow more systematic and generous remission for Stage 1 and Stage 2 training already accomplished; though, as mentioned previously, the general picture is still far from satisfactory. In any case, there are still few explicit Stage 3 programmes as such anywhere in the system. It must, too, be allowed that the generally high quality of delivery of 7307 — often now compared very favourably with that of some full certificate courses, doubtless on account of the fact that so many of the tutors are practising further education teachers —has been advertising itself. Good wine needs no bush.

Yet another aspect of increased demand is the expansion of training activity in industry, commerce and public service, where the shortage of experienced teachers and trainers is, not surprisingly, acute. The CGLI, like various other bodies, has been trying out new 'markets' for 7307, for example the negotiation of a 7307 scheme for police instructors in Yorkshire, a development that has attracted the interest of the Police College at Hendon. The success of 7307 among nursing instructors has confirmed and strengthened the allegiance of the English Board to the scheme. New 7307 courses are being opened up now in Scotland, for example, at the Aberdeen College of Further Education, Telford College, Edinburgh, and at Ayr College.

But the Institute's response to rising demand is not confined to the 7307 area of success. In 1990/91 another 4,532 certificates were awarded in the 'teacher' range of CGLI qualifications, and a further 5,934 in the 'trainer' programmes.[5] These two groups of courses, some of them basic, others 'top-up' programmes, have been extended in the last year or two, with particular success accruing to four courses. These were: 1,995 Initial Certificates in Teaching Communication Skills (Literacy) (compared with 1989/90 – 364 certificates); 1,063 Initial Certificates in Teaching Communication Skills (Numeracy) (1989/90 – 460 certificates); 1.047 Youth Trainer's Award (1989/90 – 2,083 awards); 1,767 Adult Trainer's Award (1989/90 – 1,045 awards).

All these courses represent the Institute's response to the increasing demand for specialists and trainers in an increasingly complex training field. The process, as always, is ad hoc, with courses and certificates coming and going with disconcerting rapidity. Several of the nine 'teacher qualifications' in the CGLI list have appeared in the three years up to 1991. The 'trainer qualifications' list includes seven different awards, but the ephemeral nature of the demand is illustrated by the rapid fall in numbers seeking such awards in the group between 1989/90 and 1990/91, a fall of 2,620 across the spectrum. It is now hoped that CGLI 7254 , the Certificate in Training Competence, launched in 1990, and intended for 'those engaged in substantial full-time or part-time training roles',[6] will become a substantive 'training officer's' qualification, comparable in its field with 7307 in all kinds of teaching.

That modes of achieving coherence between the various teacher and trainer certificate and award schemes even within the Institute itself have not yet been perfected is fairly evident. The same is true of the RSA with is even longer list of teachers' awards. It may be suspected that at the present juncture, the policy of both bodies is to wait to see what will happen when the requirements of NVQ come to bear, as they surely will, and then to adapt their offerings accordingly.

Since, however, it is still 'free for all', some pressure is now being put on the CGLI to develop its own Stage 3 certificate programme, preferably one with the status of Certificate of Education (FE).[7] This, of course, would precipitate settlement (or final dismissal) of the whole vexed question of Departmental 'recognition' of CGLI teachers' certificates. Such a programme would certainly provide a much wanted national model for the development of Stage 3 courses within higher education institutions, and it would be greatly preferable to the 'do it yourself' mode that has come to prevail among existing Certificate of Education (FE) providers.

As might have been expected, much effort has been put into the process of adapting the 7307 course (as with others) to render its assessment scheme viably 'competence based'. To begin with the Institute commissioned an independent review of the existing scheme which proved somewhat abortive, for the report submitted came up with the conclusion that the scheme was already, in general terms, competence based. Though in a realistic sense this was perfectly true, manifestly the scheme's assessment procedures did not fit convincingly into the format now being adopted for assessment in the whole huge range of other Institute courses, nor would it ultimately, without modification, have been acceptable for the purposes of NVQ.

Accordingly the Institute has launched, with the enthusiastic support of tutors, moderators and regional officers all over the country, a conversion programme as the result of which, in two years' time, the whole scheme of assessment for 7307 (along with the other teachers' and trainers' courses), will be adapted to the explicit requirements of 'competence', that is, a unit-structured programme with clearly defined performance criteria, assessment specifications, which includes listed items of performance/product evidence, and so on. Much model documentation has already been produced, and under the supervision of a high-powered working party, forty-four colleges have been persuaded to join in a carefully monitored pilot scheme, in which the suggested 'Units of Competence', one for Stage 1 and seven for Stage 2, are being tried out and evaluated. Discussion of aspects of the pilot scheme is being vigorously promoted in local and regional conferences, and an exhausting round of visits by regional moderators and the national moderator to participating colleges.[8]

It is not possible in this short postscript to discuss the process in any detail at all. It is the subject of an earnest, thoughtful and thoroughgoing campaign, and there can be little doubt that the new Competence Scheme when finally devised will be accepted by — and, it is hoped, acceptable to — client institutions employers of Stage 1 and Stage 2 qualified teachers, public and private, and also the providers of Stage 3 courses. There are, it must be said, aspects of the development that give cause for concern: just like the 'aims and objectives' movement, at the height of which TEC and BEC appeared on the scene, the process generates vast volumes of paper — notes for guidance, unit specifications, assessment schedules, profile forms, and the like, with the possible result that practitioners will be drowned in the flood; further fostering of the idea that 'teaching skills', like workshop skills, can be precisely and minutely defined, and assessed criterion by criterion, a return in effect to the days before 730 escaped from the 'numbering game', described earlier in this book. Just imagine doing this across the medical profession. What mighty schedules of 'medical skills' could be produced. It may become very difficult in the end to avoid a return to the tiresome 'pass/fail' routines that marred earlier schemes, and are now threatening to engulf secondary and even primary education anew.

Two other specific developments within and without the ambit of 7307 deserve comment. The first, with application across the whole range of CGLI schemes, is the progress of 'APL', the acronymic title now given to the problem discussed earlier in these pages under the heading 'accreditation' — now 'accreditation of prior learning' — exploration of which has been much prompted by NCVQ. At long last the Institute has a policy on this, and has addressed the issue in the context of its teacher schemes, and of 7307 in particular. The Institute's *APL Handbook* is now essential reading for 7307 tutors and moderators,[9] as well as for other practitioners of continuing education.

The other is the onset of some harder thinking on the subject of 'open' and 'distance' learning, and about the feasibility of elements of such learning in 7307 and similar courses. A notable contribution to the discussion has been the issue by the National Extension College of the 'Competence-Based Toolkit' for the 'Teaching and Training of Adults', a learning pack explicitly based on CGLI 7307 in 'close liaison between the City and Guilds and NEC'.[10] So far nothing much has been done to resolve the problems posed by the exclusively distance learning 7307 set up a few years ago in Bromsgrove. Further development probably does not lie in this direction; rather in the inclusion of distance facilities in a selection of run-of-the-mill courses.

Of fundamental significance for the future of 7307 and like courses is the considerable overlap now growing between the vocational and non-vocational interests in continuing education. It is now quite widely accepted that CGLI represents, for the time being at least, a satisfactory route of training for the majority of adult educators, and there are in existence 'free-standing' 7307 groups of such tutors. That by no means all the problems of adult education teacher training have been solved is amply illustrated by a recent issue of *Adults Learning*, devoted to the exploration of several of the issues already mentioned in this postscript but slanted explicitly towards adult education as such. The growing realization of common interest between the two is demonstrated by this publication itself, with contributions from right across the continuing education spectrum, from the WEA to the City and Guilds.[11]

It is also recognized in the recently published symposium *Training Adult Educators in Western Europe*,[12] a vigorous reminder that the entire discussion in this country about the shape and purposes of our post-school education systems must begin consciously taking into account the 'European dimension', if for no better reason than our tighter and tighter irreversible adherence to the European single community. The half-baked market philosophy that has so far invaded our further education system has included little reference to the realities of European union.

Nevertheless the questions must be raised, and reiterated (as Alan Chadwick constantly reminds us), What is all this for? Why? Quo vadis? For we still have not in Britain an intelligible rationale for continuing education of any kind. 'Competence' is all very well, but competence for what? Understandably, though not excusably, market considerations mostly exclude concern for the less material values that, however inadequately, our adult education provision since the days of Cambridge university extension has sought to cater for. Competence is being interpreted rather as 'output capability'. What about competence for thinking? Competence for feeling and understanding? Competence for living? In the rush much is being torn away from education by mercenary interest. Is it not now time to claw back into education some of the functions that were once regarded as having to do with the intellectual and moral quality of the nation? Perhaps the belated arrival on the scene of an 'Educational Lead Body' may help to correct the balance.

Notes and References

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2 P. F. R. Venables, *Technical Education* (London, Bell, 1955), 535.

3 Venables (1955), 537.

4 Association of Teachers in Technical Institutions (ATTI), *Proceedings* 1904/05.

5 *Times Educational Supplement*, correspondence, 25 March 1955.

6 ATTI, *Proceedings*, July 1914.

7 Mary Tasker, 'J. C. Buckmaster 1819–1908: a study of his life and work' (unpublished MEd thesis, University of Bath, 1974), 107–10.

8 Frank Foden, *The Examiner* (University of Leeds, 1989), 146, 157, 164–5.

9 Tasker (1974), 111.

10 F. E. Foden, 'The Rev Arthur Rigg: pioneer of workshop practice', *Vocational Aspect of Secondary and Further Education*, November 1959.

11 DSA, *Annual Report* 1858, Playfair's Report.

12 John J. Bradbury, *Chester College and the Training of Teachers* (Chester College, 1975), 99, 121 n 47.

13 D. H. Thomas, 'The development of technical education in England from 1851 to 1879, with special reference to economic factors' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 1947), 295. See also Sir Henry Cole, *Fifty Years of Public Work* (London, Bell, 1884), 298.

14 Cole (1884), 312.

15 DSA, *Annual Report* 1858, Playfair's Report.

16 DSA, *Annual Reports*.

17 Thomas (1947), 139.

18 Royal Commission on Technical Instruction (Samuelson Commission), *Report* Vol 3 (1884), Q 3478. (Hereafter RCTI.)

19 RCTI, Vol 3, Q 3478.

20 RCTI, Vol 3, Q 3481.

21 RCTI, Vol 1, 478.

22 RCTI, Vol 3, Qs 3018–20.

23 DSA, *Annual Report* 1859: Minute, 2 June 1859, Arts IV, V; DSA, *Directory* 1860, Arts IX, X; *Report* 1867, para 2.

24 DSA, *Report* 1868, para 6.

25 DSA, *Report* 1870.

26 DSA, *Report* 1860, 8; *Directory* 1875, Art XXXIX.

27 Foden (1989), 126–8.

28 RCTI, Vol 3, Q 500.

29 RCTI, Vol 3, Qs 570–8.

30 Union of Lancashire and Cheshire Institutes (hereafter ULCI), *Annual Report* 1883, 9.

31 RCTI, Vol 3, Q 3070; see also Cyril Bibby, *T. H. Huxley — scientist, humanist and educator* (London, Watts, 1959), 117.

32 DSA, *Report* 1860, 26.

33 DSA, *Report* 1869: Minute, 11 March 1869; *Reports* 1870–71.

34 Leonard Huxley, *Life and Letters of Thomas Henry Huxley* (London, Macmillan, 1903), 377–8.

35 Bibby (1959), 117; also RCTI, Vol 3, Q 3070.

36 J. Vargas Eyre, *Henry Edward Armstrong, 1848–1937* (London, Butterworth, 1958), 85, 112. The significance of 'heurism' is overrated in some histories of science education (see Cardwell, below). It affected the chemistry and physics syllabuses of major institutions; but it required considerable resources of time and staffing and well equipped laboratories, and few of these were available in part-time courses.

37 D. S. L. Cardwell, *The Organisation of Science in England* (London, Heinemann, 1972), 106.

38 Confidential memorandum on the Appointment of Assistant Examiners, Distribution of Work and Examination of Papers, prepared from Minutes of the Lords of the Committee of Council on Education, and other Documents for the Use of Examiners and Assistant Examiners. Form 341/S.

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41 RCTI, Vol 3, Qs 3031–6.

42 Tasker (1974), 144–5.

2: Enter the City and Guilds

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2 Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: economic change and military conflict from 1500 to 2000* (London, Unwin Hyman, 1988), 198–202, see especially tables 199–201.

3 F. E. Foden, 'A history of technical examinations in England to 1918: with special reference to the examination work of the City and Guilds of London Institute' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Reading, 1961); see particularly Vol 2, 'The examination system of the City and Guilds of London Institute', Part IV, 'The early years, 1879–1891'. Much of the argument of this chapter is derived from the thesis.

4 The Yorkshire College had a close relationship with the Clothworkers' Company and that Company was the first of the guilds to volunteer support for the technological examination scheme of 1873. Executive Sub-Committee of the Livery Companies, 27 January 1877 to 3 May 1878; Minutes 13 August 1877. Also Sub-Committee D, Minutes, 14 August 1878.

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6 CGLI, *Programme*, 1882, Refs 18, 19.

7 Sub-Committee D, Minutes, 21 July 1882. (Hereafter SCD.)

8 CGLI, Examinations Report, 1883.

9 A. H. D. Acland and H. Llewellyn Smith, *Report of the National Association for the Promotion of Technical and Secondary Education* 1889, 35.

10 CGLI, *Programme* 1880.

11 CGLI, *Report* 1893.

12 CGLI, *Report* 1887.

13 National Union of Teachers (NUT), *Annual Report* 1895, Special Report, cvii.

14 NUT, *37th Annual Report* 1908.

15 ATTI, *Proceedings* 1904, 55.

16 This entire complicated story is told in some detail in Foden (1961) Vol 2, Part 5, and Vol 3, Part 6.

17 Magnus (1911), 147.

18 Magnus, 145–71.

19 Magnus, 148–9.

20 SCD, Minutes, 8 January 1891.

21 SCD, Minutes, 30 July 1891.

22 SCD, Minutes, 9 October 1891.

23 SCD, Minutes, 8 April 1892, and 11 February 1898.

24 SCD, Minutes, 8 July 1893, 14 October 1892, 10 February 1893.

25 SCD, Minutes, 15 March 1897, and *Programme* 1897/98.

26 SCD, Minutes, 17 November 1899.

27 CGLI, *Programme* 1904/05.

28 CGLI, *Report* 1903.

29 CGLI, *Programme* 1904/05.

30 CGLI, *Report* 1905.

31 Quoted in Magnus (1911), 157 n 1; and see 211–2, note.

32 Technology Sub Committee (TSC, formerly SCD), Minutes, 19 February 1909.

33 TSC, Minutes, 30 March 1909.

34 TSC, Minutes, 30 April 1909, letter from Sir Philip Magnus.

35 TSC, Minutes, 28 May 1909; see also CGLI, *Report* 1908.

36 Magnus (1911), 181.

37 SCD, Minutes, 1 March 1893.

38 SCD, Minutes, 8 February 1895.

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40 CGLI, *Report* 1900.

41 SCD, Minutes, 4 November 1898.

42 SCD, Minutes, 7 February 1902, 11 April, 1902; letter from Philip Magnus to Sir W. de W. Abney, 14 March 1902.

43 SCD, Minutes, 13 June 1902; CGLI, *Report* 1902.

44 TSC, Minutes, 8 May 1903; letter from R. L. Morant, 7 May 1903.

45 CGLI, *Programme* 1911.

46 CGLI, *Annual Reports* 1911–14.

47 TSC, Minutes, 18 November 1910.

3: From War to War

1 The idea was picked up from a *Report on Attendance, Compulsory or Otherwise at Continuation Schools* of a special committee chaired by A. H. D. Acland (an old campaigner for further and secondary education since the 1880s), Cd 4757 and Cd 4758 (1909); echoed by an Interdepartmental Committee on Partial Exemption from School Attendance (1909) and the Minority Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws (1909). It was brought into present discussion in 1916 by the report of a departmental committee under H. Lewis on *Juvenile Education in Relation to Unemployment after the War* (Cd 8512 and Cd 8577), which recommended abolition of half-time labour under 14, and part-time education of eight hours a week for those between 14 and 18. See W. H. G. Armytage, *Four Hundred Years of English Education* (Cambridge University Press, 1964), 213, 310.

2 Usage was rather different in the years before the Education Act of 1944. The term 'elementary' school was still in statutory and common use to name, not so much a stage of education as a type. 'Secondary school' was used in a different sense from its current use. The first referred to the kind of 'all-age' school that was set up as the result of the Elementary Education Act of 1870, in fact, the common school; the second referred mainly to the selective secondary schools created after the 1902 Education Act, which allowed for fee-paying, 'scholarship' and 'free-place' entry. There were also small numbers of secondary technical schools, which admitted on selection but drew pupils largely on a 'second preference' basis.

3 *Report of the Departmental Committee on Examinations for Part-time Students* (HMSO, 1928). This was chaired by Katherine, Duchess of Atholl, a junior minister at the Board of Education.

4 East Midlands Educational Union (EMEU), *Annual Report* 1913.

5 TSC, Minutes, December 1918 to January 1919. A full account of these strange transactions is contained in Foden (1961) Vol 3, Ch 2. How close the City and Guilds Institute came to abandoning examinations at this time is not generally known.

6 TSC, Minutes, 24 January 1919.

7 F. E. Foden, 'The National Certificate', *Vocational Aspect of Secondary and Further Education* 3 (1951), 38–46.

8 Stephen F. Cotgrove, *Technical Education and Social Change* (London, George Allen and Unwin, 1958), 68.

9 These shortcomings were chiefly the result of government policies; all

governments of last century were uniformly disinclined to invest in technical education, which, it was believed, in common with secondary education, ought to be a charge on the beneficiaries, in this case, 'artisans' and employers. Employers remained throughout the century remarkably resistant to the idea that it was any responsibility of theirs, a view which still prevails, despite urgings, particularly from recent governments.

10 In the later years of the 19th century there was an enormous proliferation of 'professional' bodies in many different fields, most of which sought to control entry and membership (and to gain prestige) by setting their own examinations. The technical colleges prepared students for many of these examinations, some of which were generally regarded as the only legitimate route into practice; this was true of banking, secretaryship, accountancy and some branches of engineering. Teaching was often done by a member of the association, employed part-time for the purpose by the college. There was at these times no great measure of agreement between most of the bodies, even those of similar practice, as to common standards and requirements.

11 The first National Certificate scheme, adopted in 1921, was that of the Mechanical Engineers. By 1939 there some twenty schemes, all administered independently, each governed by a 'Joint Committee' which included representatives of the profession, the Board of Education and the teaching institutions. Although there were 'model courses', which many colleges adopted, institutions could, subject to the approval and control of the Joint Committee, devise their own schemes. Examinations and coursework were subject to the direct approval and moderation of 'assessors' appointed by the Joint Committee. The coursework performed during the later stages counted for some thirty per cent of the final result. All these schemes were eventually superseded by the B/TEC arrangements.

12 CGLI, *Programme* 1923/24.

13 CGLI, *Programmes* 1923/24–1927/28.

14 CGLI, *Programme* 1928/29.

15 CGLI, *Annual Report* 1928/29.

16 *Annual Report* 1929/30, 1931/32.

17 *Annual Report* 1929/30.

18 *Programme* 1937/38, Examination Paper 1937.

19 *Programme* 1929/30.

20 Various *Annual Reports* 1928/29–1935/36; *Annual Report* 1936/37.

21 Both colleges had developed a reputation for practical training. (When exactly they took an initiative to train teachers for the teaching of handicraft I still have to discover — and something more about the actual decisions to do so.) That they between them contributed to the eventual demise of the CGLI scheme is very probable.

22 Loughborough College *Calendar*, annually from 1930.

23 CGLI, *Annual Report* 1918/19.

24 CGLI, *Programme* 1938/39.

25 *Annual Reports* 1919/20–1938/39.

26 *Programmes* 1929/30, 1930/31.

27 *Programmes* 1928/29 onwards.

28 *Programmes* 1928/29 onwards.

29 *Programmes* 1925/26 onwards.

30 *Programme* 1926/27, Examination Paper.

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4: Post-war: Technical Teacher Education Launched

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2 *Programme* 1968/69.

3 'Memorandum on the Training of Technical Teachers', by a Joint Committee of the Association of Technical Institutions, the Association of Principals of Technical Institutions, the Association of Teachers in Technical Institutions and the British Association for Commercial and Industrial Education (1938).

4 *Higher Technological Education*, Report of a Special Committee appointed by the President of the Board of Education, R. A. Butler, in April 1944 (HMSO, 1945), the Percy Report.

5 See L. Cantor and I. Roberts, *Further Education in England and Wales* (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969), 4.

6 See Cantor and Roberts (1969), 4.

7 Venables (1955), 6.

8 Cantor and Roberts (revised ed, 1979), 170.

9 Venables, 534.

10 Statistics supplied by ATTI.

11 *Teachers and Youth Leaders*, Report of a Committee appointed by the President of the Board of Education, R A Butler, and under the chairmanship of Sir Arnold McNair (HMSO, 1944), Chap 14, p 121, the McNair Report.

12 The colleges became four a few years later. Wolverhampton was opened in 1961, following recommendations of the Willis Jackson report on the *Supply and Training of Teachers in Technical Colleges* (1957).

13 Venables, 534–6.

14 Venables, 537. See also A. J. Jenkinson, 'The Growth of the Training of Teachers of Technical Subjects' (ATI Paper, June 1949).

15 Venables, 537.

16 T. A. Hempstock, 'The training of full-time in-service teachers in Further Education', *Vocational Aspect of Secondary and Further Education* 4 (1952), 102–7.

17 D. J. Lysaght, 'Part-time day-release course for full-time technical teachers held at Nottingham', *Vocational Aspect of Secondary and Further Education* 5 (1953), 77–80.

18 According to Lysaght (1953). Notorious at these times was the general indifference of university education specialists to further education — though A. J. Jenkinson (Manchester), Professor C. H. Dobinson (Reading), and Peers and Haycocks (Nottingham) were already noteworthy exceptions.

19 CGLI, *Annual Report* 1952–54.

20 CGLI Examinations Board, Minutes, 17 March, 1950.

21 'Memorandum on the Training of Technical Teachers' (1938), Part B.

22 CGLI, Board of Examinations, Minutes, 28 March 1952.

23 CGLI, Board of Examinations, Minutes, 6 June 1952.

24 CGLI, *Annual Reports* 1954/55–1956/57.

25 CGLI, *Annual Report* 1956/57; this and several of the reports at this tine contained a detailed list of successful candidates in this examination, and the centres where they sat.

26 *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* (1949), 648; and (1950), 1031.

27 CGLI, *Report* 1925/26.

5: 163 to 730: the Progress of a Programme

1 The Report of the Beloe Committee, *Secondary School Examinations other than GCE* (1960), took a very critical look at existing school examinations. As Robert Montgomery expresses it: 'it is clear that the main issues discussed were not so much the short-term defects of the examining bodies, as the long-term consequences of their existence' — see Robert Montgomery, *Examinations: an account of their evolution as administrative devices in England* (London, Longman, 1965), 200. The Certificate of Secondary Education was introduced as a consequence of the Beloe recommendations, and for the next dozen years the Schools Council sought to educate teachers in the sophisticated business of reliable examining. Even so, the CSE never became as teacher-managed as Beloe intended, and 'Mode 3', the school-based option, was the least used.

2 The Technical Teacher's Certificate, now the Further Education Teacher's Certificate, has the same rating for status and salary purposes as the schoolteachers' certificates. However, the acceptance of the FETC for purposes of teaching in schools is at the discretion of the employing authority.

3 Five polytechnics were drawn into regular teacher training in 1965 to boost the supply of teachers needed consequent upon the raising of the school-leaving age, but the new polytechnic education departments were concerned in no way with further education training. This involvement came later, partly because of the absorption of the Huddersfield and Wolverhampton colleges into their neighbouring polytechnics, and especially after the Haycocks Report of 1975, which encouraged polytechnics to set up 'in-service' regional programmes of further education teacher training.

4 'Coherence' was a doctrine advanced by the ACSET Further Education Sub-Committee, its aim being to secure some national uniformity in the grading of courses and certificates and defined terms of 'remission' and 'exemption' during movement from a lower to a higher course.

5 CGLI, *Programme* 1953/54.

6 *Programme* 1953/54, Scheme No 163, 57–63. Details following this reference are from the same source.

7 Several Regional Advisory Councils for Further Education, and the Inner London Education Authority, became especially concerned with the issues of part-time teacher competence in non-vocational adult education, and began developing local schemes, usually LEA-based, for the certification of such teachers. The introductory course, usually of about 40 hours,

became the 'Stage 1' of present usage; this sort of development has a considerable bearing on the later evolution of CGLI 730.

8 CGLI, *Annual Report* 1957/58.

9 The Reading University Education Department's course originated largely from the unorthodox concern of its head, Professor C. H. Dobinson with the inadequacies of British vocational education — expressed in his little book, *The Technical Education of the Adolescent* (London, Harrap, 1951).

10 CGLI, Examinations Board, Minutes, 6 June 1952; see also *Programme* 1953/54.

11 CGLI, *Programme* 1966/67; the prospectus was now issued in a separately printed brochure as well as in the Programme. The lower age limit of 23 applied expressly to entry for the examination; there was no restriction on admission to the class.

12 Examination Paper, 163, 1956. See also CGLI, *Report* 1956/57.

13 The setting and marking of examination papers was very much a trial-and-error affair, right from its early days. The lack of criteria or other defined determinants of the 'standard' was common. Evolution of examination practice depended very much on the principle of 'best authority', the appointment of the best professional available in the field; the actual criteria 'resided in the breast of the examiner', as one early critic of the examination process put it. The examiner in this case was head of a technical-teacher training college with credentials beyond criticism.

14 CGLI, *Annual Report* 1957/58; see also Willis Jackson Report.

15 CGLI, *Programme* 1954/55. The new Advanced level certificate in the domestic subjects ended the 'one-grade' pattern which had distinguished them from others in the Institute's lists. The stiff technical requirements of the Domestic Subjects Teacher's Certificate had previously ensured that successful candidates were well above the levels aimed at by the classes they taught.

16 CGLI, *Annual Report* 1954/55.

17 The style adopted for the common paper was that of the domestic teachers' examiner. (Private information from Mrs J. McGinty, an examiner and long-time member of the Domestic Subjects Committee.)

18 Cantor and Roberts (1969), 6.

19 Cantor and Roberts (1969), 8. Some of the more important government papers issued during these years were: *Technical Education* Cmnd 9703 (HMSO, 1956); *The Organisation of Technical Colleges*, Circular 305

(1956); *Training for Skill: recruitment and training of young workers in industry* (HMSO, 1958), the Carr Report, Ministry of Labour and National Service; *15 to 18, Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education* (HMSO, 1959), the Crowther Report; *Report of the Advisory Committee on Further Education for Commerce* (HMSO, 1959), the McMeeking Report; *Better Opportunities in Technical Education* Cmnd 1254 (HMSO, 1959); *Training for Skill: Recruitment and Training of Young Workers in Industry* Cmnd 1892 (HMSO, 1962) — this White Paper being followed in 1964 by the Industrial Training Act; *Day-release: Report of a committee set up by the Minister of Education* (HMSO, 1963), the Henneker-Heaton Report; *A Plan for Polytechnics and Other Colleges* Cmnd 3006 (HMSO, 1966).

20 Ministry of Education, *The Supply and Training of Teachers for Technical Colleges* (HMSO, 1957), the Willis Jackson Report; *Report on the Supply and Training of Teachers* (HMSO, 1966), the Russell Report.

21 Cantor and Roberts (1969), 2.

22 Russell Report (1966), para 8.

23 Russell Report, paras 29–47, 50.

24 Cantor and Roberts (1969), 185.

25 Catherine Hilary Griffiths, 'The training of part-time teachers in post-secondary education, industry and commerce, HM Forces and the public service through the CGLI Further Education Teacher's Certificate (Course 730) from 1976–1982 in North Humberside' (unpublished MA dissertation, University of Hull, 1982), 15–6.

26 CGLI, *394, Further Education Teacher's Certificate*; *395, Further Education Advanced Certificate*, 1971, 1972, 1973.

27 Compiled from CGLI, *Annual Reports.*

28 [E. Knowles, compiler], *A Survey of students taking the examination of the CGLI Further Education Teacher's Certificate in June 1972*... (1973). The faulty construction of this postal questionnaire means that few of the figures can be taken as thoroughly reliable.

29 *394, Further Education Teacher's Certificate*; *395, Further Education Advanced Certificate*, Notes for Guidance of Tutors

30 CGLI, *Annual Reports.*

31 *A Survey of students taking the examination of the CGLI Further Education Teacher's Certificate in June 1972*.... It is evident that few of those answering this question fully understood its import.

6: 730 in Action

1 Cantor and Roberts (revised ed, 1979), 160.

2 Department of Education and Science, *Teacher Education and Training: A Report by a Committee of Inquiry* (HMSO, 1972), the James Report.

3 Much of the raw material for this chapter is drawn from the author's personal experience, and thus the formal reference apparatus is unusually sparse.

4 CGLI, 730 Further Education Teacher's Certificate Feasibility Study, 1974–1976, 'Final Report' (unpublished report, 1976), Preamble. The plan of seven major aims, each subdivided into attainable objectives was devised by David Minton, a tutor concerned with non-vocational adult education in Oxfordshire, and Arthur Stock, Secretary of the NIAE.

5 Correspondence — mainly personal, since the complainants wrote directly to the author in his capacity as Chief Examiner.

6 CGLI, Testing Services Department, Special Report, (unpublished report, 1975).

7 CGLI, 730, Further Education Teachers' Subjects, 1973–1975.

8 This meeting, at the Adult Education Department, University of Nottingham in October 1972, was called at the personal instance of Professor Harold Wiltshire, at that time chairman of the East Midlands Advisory Council Assessment of Training sub-committee. The invitation to the author, newly appointed chief examiner for 730, was not regarded by CGLI as correct according to protocol, and some correspondence ensued. Though 'unofficial', the meeting was influential.

9 Feasibility Study, 'Final Report', Preamble. (The newly appointed chairman of the Institute's Further Education Teachers' Advisory Committee was Jack Mansell, later to be director of the Further Education Unit.)

10 Feasibility Study, 'Interim Report to the Education Advisory Committee', (unpublished report, 1975).

11 The consultant was Dr Willmott of NFER, who was particularly associated with the work of the Schools Council at this time on the comparability of examination standards between different subjects.

12 Feasibility Study, 'Final Report', Discussion and Recommendations.

13 'Interim Notes for Guidance' [issued 1976]. These are undated and do not appear to have had formal provenance.

14 Notes for Guidance — Revised Assessment Scheme (Guide for Course

Tutors 1977/88, 1978/79, 1979/80, Teaching Practice, Assessors, Specifications A and E for the Period).

15 Notes for Guidance, May 1981.

16 CGLI, 730 Subject Committee Meeting, Paper 1, [1981? date unverified]. The project was directed by Eric Tuxworth of Huddersfield Polytechnic.

7: Agents of Change

1 Hugo Young, *One of Us: a biography of Margaret Thatcher* (London, Macmillan,1989), 66.

2 *Teacher Education and Training* (1972), iii.

3 Jenny Uglow, 'In search of an identity', *Education and Training* (June 1972), 190.

4 Cyril English, former HMI, was now Director General of the CGLI. Whether or not he pressed the issue of further education may only be guessed at. One event that did ensure attention was the 'Open Letter to the James Committee' written by Leonard Cantor and Iollo Roberts (authors of *Further Education in England and Wales*), published in the *Times Educational Supplement*, 15 January 1971. Cantor and Roberts are named among contributors of written evidence, as are also Miles Robotham (CGLI assessor), and the author (chief examiner for 730). Evidence was also submitted by ATTI.

5 *Teacher Education and Training* (1972), para 3.44.

6 *Teacher Education and Training*, paras 2.26, 2.27.

7 *Teacher Education and Training*, Recommendation 18, para 2.33.

8 David Reeder, quoted in Uglow (1972), 190.

9 Department of Education and Science, *Education: a framework for expansion* Cmnd 5174 (HMSO, 1972).

10 Department of Education and Science, *The Training of Teachers for Further Education*, Circular 11/77 (17 November 1977). Advisory Committee on the Supply and Training of Teachers, *The Training of Teachers for Further Education: a report by the Sub-Committee on the Training of Teachers for Further Education relating to the training of full-time teachers in further education* (June 1975, issued November 1977), 'Haycocks I'. Members of the sub-committee included Professor L. M. Cantor (University of Loughborough), W. A. G. Easton (Principal, Southgate College, and a NATFHE activist), Sir Cyril English (Director General, CGLI, and a

member of the recent James Committee), Eric Robinson (Principal, Bradford College of Technology), and V. J. Sparrow (Director, Bolton College). In 1978 NATFHE published its Policy Statement in the wake of the first Haycocks report. It approved the recommendations in general terms as 'a modest starting point for the development of a progressive policy for the professional training of teachers in further and higher education'; it also spoke in favour of 'a unified structure of professional education' for both teachers in further and higher education and teachers in schools; there was no mention of part-time teachers.

11 Haycocks I, para 13.

12 Circular 11/77, para 3(b).

13 Cantor and Roberts, (revised edition, 1983), 17–8.

14 Advisory Committee on the Supply and Training of Teachers, *The Training of Adult Education and Part-time Further Education Teachers; Report of the ACSTT Sub-Committee on the Training of Teachers for Further Education* (ACSTT, 22 March 1978), 'Haycocks II'.

15 Advisory Committee on the Supply and Training of Teachers, *Training Teachers for Education Management in Further and Adult Education; Report of the Sub-Committee on the Training of Teachers for Further Education* (issued by ACSTT, 25 August 1978), 'Haycocks III'.

16 *Teacher Education and Training* (1972), para 2.15.

17 Haycocks III, para 5. It seems probable that initially the sub-committee had no particular intention of dealing with the management aspect of further and adult education, but that the deliberations and conclusions of Haycocks II made attention to this imperative. Haycocks III, for all its good features, bears the marks of hurried preparation and a certain lack of expertise about the issues among members of the sub-committee.

18 Haycocks III, para 37.

19 Cantor and Roberts, (revised edition, 1983), 205.

20 CGLI, Advisory Committee for Educational Subjects, Minutes, 7 December 1981.

21 Advisory Committee for Educational Subjects, Minutes, 10 December 1982.

22 Advisory Committee on the Supply and Education of Teachers, *A Coherent System of Initial Training for Serving Further Education Teachers; Report of the Advisory Committee's Further Education Sub-Committee* (ACSET, February 1983).

23 *A Coherent System of Initial Training*, para 10.

24 *A Coherent System*, para 13.

25 *A Coherent System*, para 9.

26 *A Coherent System*, para 14.

27 *A Coherent System*, Table C.

28 Letter of reply from the Secretary of State, Sir Keith Joseph, to Chairman of ACSET, 22 June 1984.

29 Advisory Committee on the Supply and Education of Teachers, *Report of the Education Management Working Group, Further Education Sub-Committee* (ACSET, June 1983), paras 4.4 and 1.1–1.2.

30 *Report of the Education Management Working Group*, para 4.4.

31 *Report of the EMWG*, paras 1.1–1.2.

32 *Report of the EMWG*, para 5.1.

33 *Report of the EMWG*, para 4.3.

34 *Report of the EMWG*, para 9.1.

8: The New 730

1 CGLI, *730, Further and Adult Education Teacher's Certificate. 1987–1989.*

2 CGLI, 'Analysis of Candidates following Course' [730] — Annual Report to Education Subject Committee (ESC), March 1986).

3 I. Wild, Teachers' Branch, Department of Education and Science to CGLI, 6 September 1984.

4 CGLI, National Advisory Council for Education Services (NAC), Minutes, 7 December 1981.

5 NAC, Minutes, 10 December 1982. On 'coherence' see Chapter 7, Note 22 above.

6 NAC, Minutes, 11 November 1983; 30 March 1984.

7 NAC, Minutes, 16 November 1984. An account of this meeting is contained in Annex 1 of the Minutes of a meeting of SCRAC held some time after the conference: 'Report of a Joint Meeting of representatives of Validating Bodies for Further Education Teacher Training Course held at the Polytechnic of Central London… 25 June 1984'. It was a rambling meeting covering much ground but reaching few firm conclusions. The chairman's summing-up identified four major agenda items of a future meeting: 1. the role of

mentors; 2. training of trainers; 3. involvement of voluntary and statutory bodies in the development of regional schemes; 4. collaboration between the various parties in future development. Some of these issues were, in the event, moved on a stage further by subsequent agreements between CGLI and RACs.

8 ESC, Minutes, 24 January 1984. The paper was introduced by the author of the present study, who, because he was at the time acting as Chief Assessor, assumed a central role in the creation and implementation of the 'New 730'. His involvement was strengthened by a keen awareness, from practical experience in the field, of the need for 'coherence'. The new chairman of the ESC, Dr Alan Chadwick (deputy director of the Department of Educational Studies, University of Surrey), was much concerned with the improvement of training for adult education tutors, and also strongly committed to 'coherence'. The design of the new scheme was in effect remitted to Dr Chadwick and the author; the account of its genesis given in the text draws on the latter's personal information and recollections.

9 *730, Further and Adult Education Teacher's Certificate. 1987–1989*, Design and Moderation of a Centre Scheme.

10 DES Memorandum, 23 July 1985; see NAC, Minutes 11 December 1985. There were many apprehensions about this development, including fears that the course's classification as 'Advanced' might lead to its being discouraged in smaller colleges, and for reasons of economy being syphoned off to polytechnics and higher-grade colleges.

11 *730, Further and Adult Education Teacher's Certificate. 1987–1989*, Profiles and Profiling.

12 National Association for Staff Development in Further and Higher Education, *The New 730: a handbook for use in the part-time and in-service training of teachers in Further and Adult Education*, Occasional Publication 4 (NASD, September 1986, September 1987).

13 NAC, Minutes, 10 May 1985.

14 NAC, Minutes, 11 December 1985.

15 CGLI, Memorandum on C&G/RAC Agreements (1985).

16 Southern Region Regional Advisory Council, *Stage I and Stage II Scheme for the Training of Teachers in Further Education* (1984).

17 To those unfamiliar with the scene, these remarks may seem gratuitous. In fact, there had been residual antagonism between the CGLI and the regional bodies ever since the then Board of Education had sought in the years just

before the First World War to persuade the CGLI to close down its examination operations and had used the ULCI, UEI and Yorkshire Council intermittently as allies. Antagonism was fostered again by comment in the Atholl Report of 1928 suggesting that CGLI should discontinue operations. Creation of the Regional Advisory Councils following the McNair Report tended to give them a feeling of 'legitimacy' vis à vis the merely 'voluntary bodies' such as the CGLI and RSA.

9: The other Bodies

1 Day (or more likely half-day) release for office workers came more slowly and with greater reluctance than that for 'apprentices'. nevertheless, by the mid 1950s, most colleges had large contingents of students, mostly girls, attending for office skills classes.

2 The story is told in Frank Foden, *The Examiner* (University of Leeds, Leeds Studies in Adult and Continuing Education, 1989). Contrary to the usual supposition, common examinations preceded courses, and even the demand for courses.

3 T. K. Derry and T. I. Williams, *A Short History of Technology* (Oxford University Press, 1960), 641–3.

4 English Language examinations, without any reference to literature, were brought in during the early 1950s, only up to Grade II. The failure rate for 8,066 entrants in 1955 was 34 per cent. See RSA, *Report on the Examinations for the Session 1954–1955*.

5 *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, 15 July 1949. Figures derived from Annual Reports as given in the *Journal*.

6 It was understood at the time of writing that the whole body of the RSA examinations was undergoing revision, with the object of giving all examinations a modular structure.

7 Figures derived from RSA, Annual Examination Reports in *Journal*, 1952–60. The percentages are not given in the reports.

8 RSA, Annual Reports, *Journal*, 1961–67.

9 RSA, Prospectus for Teacher's Certificate in Office Practice, 1967. The specimen examination paper, Part II(a), exhibits a high specificity in all the questions — in marked contrast to the generality of questions on 'Method' which, from about this same time, the CGLI 730 examination paper began to ask.

10 The principle of using an 'external examiner' or 'external assessor/moderator' (roles often confused) was almost universally used in higher education. It had not up to this time been much practised by the traditional 'external' examining bodies — which is not surprising, since they had been set up, among other reasons, to circumvent what would otherwise have been the deplorable necessity of having the examining done by the practising teachers. The external assessor was familiar in the National Certificate schemes (superseded after 1970 by TEC and BEC schemes) in which all assessment was done by tutors subject to external moderation. Gradually but rather reluctantly RSA and CGLI adopted a similar approach. It was in their teacher examinations that the bodies took the principle furthest, the CGLI rather more boldly than RSA. To begin with CGLI officers needed some convincing that high levels of specific subject experience were not essential for the moderation of teaching practice (as distinct from subject examining).

11 Royal Society of Arts Examinations Board, *Office Technology: the implications for education and training in the 1980s* (RSA, June 1981), the Glover Report).

12 Results and details of subject and syllabus changes are derived from RSA, Annual Reports in the *Journal*.

13 Details taken from the compendious RSA Prospectus, *Certificates and Diplomas in Language Teaching* (1983).

14 Adult Literacy and Basic Skills Unit, *The Certificate in Teaching Basic Communication Skills: a handbook* (ALBSU, 1988).

15 RSA, *Prospectus for the Certificate for Vocational Preparation Tutors* (1981).

16 Jim Hills, 'The C&G 926 Instructor/Supervisor Award: the Pilot Scheme and its implications for staff development', *Journal of the National Association for Staff Development* 3 (April 1980). See also '926—The Instructor/Supervisor Award', *Journal of the NASD* 5 (April 1981), 16–21.

17 CGLI, *730 — Prospectus for Further Education Teacher's Certificate, 1987-1989*.

18 ACSET, *A Coherent System of Initial Training for Serving Further Education Teachers* (1984). It cannot be argued that this concept does not apply, since the 'Coherence' document is concerned with training for full-time teachers. Quite explicitly, ACSET recognized that part-time service is a way into full-time teaching, and the committee regarded it as desirable that training and certification gained in part-time service should be allowed to

count appropriately towards full certification.

19 College of Preceptors, *Prospectus for Academic Qualifications for Teachers and Educationists in the United Kingdom, 1987–1989*, together with syllabus leaflets on Vocational and Further Education and Management in Education.

10: Training for the Teaching of Adults

1 Jenny Rogers, *Adults Learning* (2nd ed, Milton Keynes, Open University Press, 1977), 237.

2 Knowles (1973).

3 Konrad Elsdon, *Training for Adult Education* (University of Nottingham/National Institute of Adult Education, 1975), 10–1.

4 See NIAE, 'Recruitment and Training of Staff for Adult Education' (1966), Introductory section. (Knowles' report, makes no specific reference to 'non-vocational adult' teachers as such. Quite a number of his respondents in the non-vocational category were ordinary adult class part-time teachers)

5 Rogers (1977), 236.

6 Elsdon (1975), 2.

7 Elsdon (1975), 12. The view is not peculiar to adult educators. It has governed much thinking about teacher training throughout the system — or rather has functioned as a well accepted defensive reaction. Until well after the Second World War it prevailed in great areas of secondary education. The view has (or had) inescapable class implications; elementary schoolteachers, recruited mostly from the 'lower classes', were subject to training from a very early stage. Graduates and 'varsity men needed no such training.

8 Elsdon (1975), 6.

9 Adult Education Committee, Ministry of Reconstruction, *Final Report* Cmd 321 (HMSO,1919). British Institute of Adult Education/Tutors' Association, *The Tutor in Adult Education* (Dunfermline, Carnegie UK Trustees, 1928).

10 Ministry of Education, *Further Education* (HMSO, 1947).

11 Elsdon (1975), 13.

12 John McLeish, 'Training teachers for adults — the problem and the

solution', *Adult Education* 37 (1964), 145–8.

13 J. J. Roberts, 'Training teachers for adults — the problems, full stop', *Adult Education* 37 (1965), 270–2.

14 Personal reminiscence. As a tutor in English Literature for the WEA in Hampshire, I attended several of these gatherings, held during the University's Easter break.

15 C. D. Legge, 'Training the adult educator', *Adult Education* 34 (1962), 312–8.

16 The term 'movement' was long in use, though it is now disappearing. The term provides an interesting semantic indicator of the popular view of adult education during the late 19th and much of the present century, since to begin with it emerged into public awareness as a voluntary, philanthropic endeavour, wholly unsupported by public funds of any kind. The usage persisted long after such support began to be given, largely because of the image projected by the WEA which, for many, remained not part of the educational establishment — which in fact it had become — but a 'working class movement' with trade union and even party affiliations. One of the reasons advocated by the Russell Committee for the preservation of the WEA in its existing form was its 'democratic' modes of organization.

17 Cantor and Roberts (1969), 1.

18 Elsdon (1975), 10.

19 Elsdon (1975), 17.

20 *Adult Education: a plan for development*, Report by a Committee of Enquiry appointed by the Secretary of State for Education and Science under the Chairmanship of Sir Lionel Russell, CBE (HMSO, 1973), 141, the 'Russell Report' to the adult education world.

21 NIAE, 'Accommodation and Staffing; Report of a Committee' (NIAE, January 1963). As a moderator for the East Midlands training scheme (see below), I made the acquaintance of several of these young people and was very impressed by their energy and constructive ideas. Bestwick (see Note 31 below) was one of them.

22 The NIAE 'Steering Committee' that produced the report was chaired by Mabel Tylecote, of Manchester, a long-standing campaigner for adult education. 'Recruitment and Training', *Adult Education* 38:6 (1966). H. A. Jones is quoted at page 349.

23 Elsdon (1975), 10; for other 'diffusion' effects of the NIAE 'Recruitment and Training' report see 23-4.

24 'Training of the part-time teacher of adults — a report by the Adult Education Seminar, Manchester, 1971–1972' (Department of Adult Education, University of Manchester).

25 Though it was becoming customary in adult education literature to mention CGLI 163/394 (which sought in its publicity to cater for adult tutors but received very few approaches from the official bodies as to how it might better do so though — see Note 31 below), a quite denigratory view of the CGLI programme was taken by most LEA trainers, and officers of RACs, less through direct knowledge and use of the programme than their adoption of the traditional view of adult non-vocational education as a rather superior sort of education, very different in its needs and pedagogy from vocational education which was, manifestly, examination dominated. Little note was taken until very much later in the day of the gradual shift of vocational further education from the thrall of the external examining bodies. Ironically, the RACs, which began in the 1960s taking the traditional though hitherto separate regional examining unions under their umbrella, thereby themselves becoming responsible for much external examining, maintained all through a rather supercilious view of CGLI 163/394/730, reflecting probably their inheritance of an equally traditional hostility towards the City and Guilds. Some local authorities, notably Leicestershire, took such a hostile view of 163/730 that they would in no circumstances recognize the CGLI Certificate for purposes of adult education.

26 *Adult Education: a plan for development* (1973).

27 *Adult Education*, paras 407-10 and associated statistics.

28 *Adult Education*, para 415.

29 *Adult Education*, para 411.

30 *Adult Education*, paras 4-15.

31 K. Elsdon, 'The East Midlands Scheme', *Adult Education* 44 (1973), 241–5 — one of a series of three articles dealing with the 'Training of part-time tutors'. See also Charles Claxton and Dennis Bestwick, 'Co-operation in adult tutor training', *Adult Education* 44 (1971), 237 — one of five articles, a 'Symposium on Training'. Bestwick, then divisional adult education officer for Mid-Derbyshire, gives a thorough account of the application of the developing RACOFEEM scheme to a new client, Northamptonshire. Other articles in the symposium represent thinking, if not quite so much action, in East Suffolk and Lancashire. Yet another article, 'What do the trainees want?' is contributed by Arthur Stock, then Secretary of NIAE, a brief report on 'a piece of research on a randomised quota sample

of six hundred part-time LEA teachers of adults'. Stock was a member of the working party that fashioned the Aims and Objectives adopted by CGLI 394 at this time, thus ensuring, for the first time, some direct connection between adult education interests and the CGLI.

32 John Williams, 'The City and Guilds 730', *Adult Education* 44 (1973), 237–41 — one of the three-article series on the training of part-time tutors.

33 Elsdon (1973), 242. An account of the development in Yorkshire that 'spilled over the border' is given in Chapter 11, 'Coherence ?'

34 Elsdon (1973).

35 'Regional Scheme of Training for Part-time Teachers in Non-vocational Education', Regional Advisory Council for the Organisation of Further Education in the East Midlands (revised from the Scheme issued in October 1969 and re-issued in May 1976). Particularly influential for development was the format devised by Bestwick for Derbyshire, in which generous use was made of the county's excellent residential conference centres for a weekend of the course. He himself carried through the pattern to Northamptonshire.

36 Elsdon (1973).

37 Andrew Fairbairn, 'In-service needs of the community college', *British Journal of In-Service Education* (1976), 69–71. The special course of training for part-time teachers of embroidery, running for two years at the Loughborough College of Art and Design, had little connection with other local initiatives. The 'education' component was supplied by the University of Nottingham.

38 T. B. Graham, J. M. Daines, T. Sullivan, P. Harris and F. E. Baum, *The Training of Part-Time Teachers of Adults* (University of Nottingham, Deaprtment of Adult Education, 1982), 193.

39 Graham and others (1982), ix.

40 Graham and others (1982), 46.

41 W. E. Styler, 'Hull's Diploma in the Teaching of Adults', *Adult Education* 43 (1971), 311–5.

12: Into the Future

1 Department of Education and Science, Department of Employment, Welsh Office, *Education and Training for the Twenty-first Century* Cmd 1536 (two volumes, HMSO, 1991). See also Secretaries of State for Education and

Science, Scotland, Northern Ireland and Wales, *Higher Education: a new framework* Cmd 1541 (HMSO, 1991).

2 *Further and Higher Education* (HL), *A Bill Intituled an Act to make new provision about further and higher education* (HMSO, 1991)

3 Norman Bailey, 'The contributions of RACs', *Adults Learning* 2:5 (1991), 128–9.

4 'Certificates awarded for Teacher/Trainer Programmes, 1990/91', Information Paper No 2, issued for National Advisory Committee for Education, Training and Development, CGLI, November 1991.

5 Information Paper No 2 (1991)

6 'City and Guilds 7307 — a competency based Certificate for Further and Adult Education Teachers', information sheet issued to colleges (CGLI, [no date]).

7 This pressure, though informal, is being received from various sources, mainly client bodies etc, largely on account of the vagaries of 'recognition' of Stage 1 and Stage 2 certificates by providers of Certificates of Education (FE) courses, mostly polytechnics. As described in the main text of this book an Advanced Further Education Teacher's Certificate (CGLI Course No 395) ran for a few sessions but dried up because of lack of support, again stemming from problems of recognition. Mistakenly this course is reported in *Training Adult Educators* (see Note 11 below) as still functioning. It was withdrawn in 1980.

8 'City and Guilds 7307: piloting the new competence based scheme', Information Sheet (for issue to colleges) 2/1507/MR/VES,and various other papers circulated in the same connection, including Moderators' Notes MR 1069, (CGLI, April 1991).

9 *APL Handbook: guidance on the accreditation of prior learning. Assessment Handbook* (CGLI, 1990).

10 *Teaching and Training Adults: a competence based toolkit*, commissioned jointly by the NEC and CENTRA, the North West Region Association for Staff Development and Training in Further Education, based on CGLI 7307, and available from NEC Customer Services.

11 *Adults Learning* (see Note 3 above). Besides the article on the contribution of RACs the issue contains articles on voluntary agency contributions (WEA, Medau Society, National Federation of Women's Institutes); the work of the City and Guilds (by Simon Allison); articles on 'Professional Issues' including 'Part-time teachers of adults' (by Judith Summers, then

President of NATFHE), the 'Competence approach' (by David Sims, formerly of Hatfield Polytechnic), 'Training the trainers' (by Brian Graham and John Davies of the University of Nottingham); and a variety of other contributions bearing on the training and staff development of adult education tutors. Of special interest is the article on 'European aspects' by Leni Oglesby, President of the European Bureau of Adult Education.

12 Peter Jarvis and Alan Chadwick (eds), *Training Adult Educators in Western Europe* (London, Routledge/EBAE, 1991).

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Appendix

Table 1

EXAMINATION ENTRIES FOR CGLI TEACHERS' CERTIFICATES IN MANUAL TRAINING: WOODWORK, 1892–1913

		First year		Second year	
	Total	Entries	Passes	Entries	Passes
1892	615	275	155	340	195
1895	1543	845	701	701	604
1898	885	531	393	354	237
1901	760	476	349	284	218
1904	902	490	354	412	287
1907	1024	630	384	394	253
1910	1360	926	499	434	221
1913	1575	926	520	647	322

Source: CGLI, Annual Reports

Notes to Table 2 *(Follows at page 249)*

1 The figures are not in the form presented in the Institute's reports. In 1923, 1928 and 1935 there were major changes in the format and titling of the examinations, involving additions to the number of papers. This process continued up until the end of the programme, resulting in the setting of as many as twenty or twenty-one different papers in these later years. This must have been, by its end, the Institute's most complex and expensive course programme.

2 'Entry', 'Pass' and 'Failure' do not necessarily signify entry, pass and failure of the whole examination at either stage, first year or second year. The figures are the composites of entries, passes and failures for the whole examination and for parts only; passes for a long run of years are given in the reports as 'first' and 'second' classes but not for the whole period. From 1935 onwards total failures were given; in this table the column has been adjusted to show passes.

Table 2

ENTRIES AND RESULTS FOR CGLI MANUAL TRAINING (HANDICRAFT) EXAMINATIONS, 1919–1939

		First year			Second year		
	Total	Entries	Passes	%Fail	Entries	Passes	%Fail
1919	397	W 181	81	55.2	162	59	63.5
		M 32	20	27.5	22	14	36.3
1920	1081	W 538	288	46.5	406	177	56.4
		M 95	68	28.4	42	24	42.8
1921	984	W 467	251	46.2	327	170	55.9
		M 124	107	13.7	66	40	39.2
1922	1007	W 449	298	33,6	338	178	55.9
		M 96	61	36.4	124	85	31.4
1923	504	275	215	21.8	229	148	35.3
1924	330	158	122	24.2	172	111	35.2
1925	298	190	147	22.6	108	68	37.0
1926	452	312	145	53.5	140	54	61.5
1927	699	560	305	45.5	139	73	47.5
1928	1402	1180	622	47.3	222	100	54.9
1929	1979	1350	418	69.1	619	318	48.6
1930	2432	1651	736	55.4	781	360	52.7
1931	3129	1906	714	64.5	1123	583	48.1
1932	2891	1628	629	64.5	1263	699	47.0
1933	3033	1694	533	61.4	1339	669	47.0
1934	2867	1532	691	54.0	1335	705	47.2
1935	2173	1960	1049	46.4	713	432	60.6
1936	2351	1662	802	46.4	689	416	60.4
1937	2266	1666	1041	37.5	600	482	19.6
1938	2273	1547	910	41.2	726	572	21.2
1939	1998	1270	767	40.4	728	522	21.0

Source: CGLI, Programme 1919/20 to 1939/40

Table 3

TECHNICAL TEACHER'S CERTIFICATE, NO 163, 1954–1968

	Entries	**Passes**	**% Fail**
1954	27	21	22.3
1955	214	168	21.5
1956	138	106	21.5
1957	276	226	19.3
1958	266	219	17.7
1959	342	258	14.6
1960	470	379	19.4
1961	510	408	20.0
1962	616	490	20.5
1963	637	499	21.0
1964	737	521	29.4
1965	962	668	30.6
1966	964	627	35.0
1967	1172	730	37.8
1968	1376	904	34.3

Source: CGLI, Annual Reports, adapted to a common format

Table 4

DOMESTIC SUBJECTS (FURTHER EDUCATION) TEACHER'S CERTIFICATE, 1956–1970

	Entries	Passes	% Fail
1956	77	56	17.0
1957	187	104	44.4
1958	284	149	47.5
1959	292	108	63.0
1960	340	164	51.7
1961	244	120	50.9
1962	325	131	59.7
1963	390	225	42.3
1964	409	262	35.9
1965	489	307	37.2
1966	550	380	30.9
1967	567	370	34.7
1968	582	371	34.3
1969	509	325	36.1

Source: CGLI, Annual Reports

Table 5

ENTRIES AND RESULTS FOR CGLI 730, 1975–1985

	Entries	Old Style	New Style	Overall Passes	%Fail OS	%Fail NS
1975	3009	2573	436	2390	14.5	3.9
1976	3071	2629	460	2613	17.1	3.0
1977	3276	2828	448	2443	–	–
1978	2598	1801	797	2375	16.7	2.7
1979	2664	911	1752	2443	15.5	3.6
1980	2801	165	2636	2686	27.3	2.7
1981	2764	13	2751	2694	30.8	2.4
1982	2954	–	2954	2881	–	4.1
1983	3265	–	3265	3096	–	3.3
1984	3927	–	3927	3666	–	4.0
1985	4257	–	4257	3953	–	5.7

Source: Annual Results returns of CGLI 730

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The author: Dr Frank Foden, now retired, was formerly Head of Department of General Education at Loughborough Technical College, and a teacher of the University of Technology. He has long experience of training and certification for part-time teachers in further and adult education, particularly in association with the City and Guilds of London Institute. His previous contribution to the 'Leeds Studies' series, *The Examiner*, was published in 1989.

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